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AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
FIRST DISCOVERY,  
AND  
NATURAL HISTORY  
OF  
FLORIDA.

WITH A

Particular Detail of the several EXPEDITIONS and  
DESCENTS made on that Coast.

Collected from the best Authorities

By WILLIAM ROBERTS.

Illustrated by a general Map, and some particular Plans, together  
with a geographical Description of that Country,

By T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to His MAJESTY.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, at Charing-Cross.

MDCCLXIII.





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T H E

P U B L I S H E R ' s   P R E F A C E .

THE Geography of *Florida* being but imperfectly known to the generality of this nation, and, as it is now in our possession, a more perfect knowledge thereof would be of the greatest service to such shipping as may be sent to that part; the Publisher presumes to offer to the public the following account of it. He has been encouraged thereto by many of his friends, who have been pleased to favour him with several helps for that purpose. For this reason, he imagines that the reader will find this geographical description of that extensive sea-coast, determined to a much nearer degree of accuracy than any yet extant, as he has collected and digested it, with great care and labour, from a considerable number of original *Spanish* and *French* charts, found on board several different vessels (which were made prizes) belonging to those nations, and which were communicated to him by the gentlemen in whose possession they were. He was also assisted by several curious remarks made by gentlemen who navigated in that part of the world. He has been more particularly induced to publish it now, since whatsoever can assist the navigation of that coast must be of the greatest utility at this juncture, when the settling of that country is under the consideration of the government, and many vessels fitting out for that part. If he has in any part succeeded, he shall esteem himself happy, and his labour well employed; but, if otherwise, he hopes, this performance may incite some other person, who may have better helps and greater abilities, to rectify the errors, and render such a desirable piece of service, more perfect, to his country. He moreover flatters himself that this work, though it may, in some particulars, be defective, yet will be of the greatest use, till more accurate surveys can be made; and, in the mean time, in some measure, assist those gentlemen, who may be employed by the government for that purpose. Upon the whole, he humbly submits this work to the public, hoping they will accept it with their usual candour, and pardon the deficiencies; as it was undertaken for their service, by

THO<sup>S</sup>. JEFFERYS.



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T H E  
A U T H O R ' s   P R E F A C E .

FLORIDA being an acquisition likely to become of much future use and consideration to us, as *Britons*, it was thought a proper subject of present animadversion. The reader is desired previously to take notice, that we confine the name of *Florida* to the tract of country lately ceded to us by the *Spaniards*, this appellation formerly including a much greater portion of coast and continent, and many regions which are now called by other various titles: But we shall limit our observations as nearly as may be compatible to the above distinction; and, if we are sometimes carried farther, it must be attributed to the necessity that a scene of action extended into the neighbouring provinces of *Georgia*, *Carolina*, *Louisiana*, &c. parts of the ancient *Florida*, hath laid us under of doing so. The reason we chuse to avoid touching upon these last mentioned tracts but as little as possible, is, that they are sufficiently known already; or, at least, enough to raise every improvement and advantage that resolution and industry can invent: Whereas the parts we are now about to endeavour at giving a description of, have been hitherto but little known or considered; and, indeed, have only been very lately made of consequence to us, by being become our own. It might be looked upon as impertinent, perhaps, to dwell upon so trite a subject, as the mutual benefit accruing both to the mother-country, and our *American* colonies, from the multifarious commerce carried on between them, a topic so well known, and so often treated of: But it may not be amiss to consider the particular benefits and conveniencies which may accrue from this new increase of territory, and what purposes it will serve, which cannot be effected by our more northern colonies, which now  
form

form one continued train along the whole eastern-side of *North-America*, without interruption, as far as the *Cape of Florida*.

OF this prodigious extent of land we shall find but a small part tolerably peopled, excepting the countries bordering upon the sea; and, indeed, it must be acknowledged, that the *English* have always neglected the most obvious method of putting them in a different condition. They have, indeed, employed themselves in driving away the ancient inhabitants, and seizing upon their native soil, but have never taken any other method of increasing the number of civilized inhabitants, unless it be that of encouraging multitudes of *British*, and some few other *European* people, to settle in these colonies; which, however, tends to impoverish our own country of its inhabitants, and can, at best, but slowly furnish a suitable increase of people, and these too, for ages, exposed to the depredations and incursions of the savage, and, in fact, injured former possessors.

FOR, in spite of all that the inconsiderate or vicious may pretend, wherever a tolerably just apprehension of the Divinity hath prevailed, the more noble and generous have been the exertions of the human soul; finer, and more exalted impressions, have been called forth into action, in proportion as the mind hath been imbued with true and vigorous notions of a divine agent; and, on the contrary, whether we view the unenlightened Savage, who roams over the deserts of *America*, the native of inbred cruelty and malice, or look upon the *European* kingdoms, mostly darkened with a more polished perversion and superstition, we shall find that this departure from truth, and their depravity of opinion in matters of religion, debases and enslaves mankind, bringing them under subjection to the worst of the passions, such as spread havock and desolation throughout the world.

NATURE and experience both point out a method to make the Savage inhabitants of our new acquisitions, by swift degrees, our firm friends, and that is by the cement of intermarriage with their women.

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Was such an expedient to take place, enforced by proper rewards and bounties, to every *European* or *American* subject of *Britain*, who should marry an *Indian* woman, there would soon, from the certain tendency of this circumstance, result the happy consequences of uniting the *Indians* into one people with ourselves, and pave a way for the reception of our pure religion among them, by the gentle method of familiarity, and frequent intercourse. We need not take much pains to prove the certainty of this argument, since the tie of marriage is the band of nations, which, continually renewing connexion among people regulated by the same laws and customs, makes all, more or less, in some manner, kindred to each other, and perpetuates and spreads this relation through every separate state; which, were men, on the contrary, only to match with their own nearest of kin, would be split and divided into as many separate communities as families, and so, most probably, the mutual love and charity, subsisting, in some degree, in the breast of every individual of the same country for each other, would be almost entirely lost, or confined to much narrower limits than at present. What confusion and misery might be introduced into the world by such an alteration as this, may be guessed at from the horrible wars and devastations that happen every day between different nations, which would be healed before breaking out into acts of violence, was there such a relationship traceable among them.

THIS method of civilizing barbarous nations, and blending them into the common mass, hath been fallen upon, either from reason or natural instinct, by almost every great polity, especially the more refined ones, at all periods; and perhaps the *British* nation is alone to be excepted from this general rule, whose colonies have sojourned so long among the *Indians* without mixing with them. This may seem the more extraordinary, as we commonly observe foreign inhabitants of other parts of *America* to propagate from the natives, whose countries they have conquered and planted.

AND it is certainly much to the interest of *Britain*, that *Florida* should be well overspread with inhabitants, as soon as possible, from a consideration of what good consequences will follow from this circumstance.



circumstance. Whoever will peruse the annexed map with attention, will find that *Florida* is not destitute of fine harbours; that the peninsula is intersected with arms of the sea, that form, as it were, so many canals, dividing the land into a great number of islands, between which a way communicates through the peninsula, from the *Gulf of Florida* to the straits of *Babama*, capable of being navigated by large vessels. This passage will greatly facilitate our navigation to the aforesaid gulf, either for the safety of trade, or to annoy an enemy in those parts, either *French* or *Spaniard*, at the same time that it may be kept shut against all foreign intrusion, through the same channel, by a proper force conveniently stationed in it. How desirable such a shortening of time and way must be, the reader may be convinced, by considering what a strong current sets to the northward, through the straits above-mentioned, which renders the circuit about this cape very tedious, as well as dangerous, in many circumstances; and that, by making a suitable use of this convenience, we may, in war-time, turn all these disadvantages upon our enemy.

WE are sensible that the possession of the *Havana* would be always able to obstruct the return of the rich *Spanish* fleets home to *Europe*, with treasure from *Peru* and *Mexico*, which, without doubt, was one concurring reason for the late conquest of *Cuba*: But, as it has been again given up by the late treaty, it remains to be considered, whether the coast of *Florida* may not be made, in a great measure, as distressful to them, on such occasions, as that of *Cuba*? With regard to the meer direction of the land, it should seem not to be less suited to this purpose, because these *Spanish* ships are obliged to fetch a compass as close under it as they can, in order to get a wind large enough to carry them sufficiently eastward to fall down upon *Cuba*, where there is a general junction made of their several fleets bound to *Europe*, after which they sail together through the straits of *Babama*. On the eastern side of *Florida*, which, with the range of the *Babama-Islands*, forms these straits, we, as yet, know of no harbours of any value, nor at all suited to receive ships of force; and, therefore, it seems by no means calculated for the use of intercepting the *Spanish* treasures; but, on the Western shore of this

peninsula, lies the fine harbour of *Spiritu del Santo*, capable of holding, it is said, all the navies of *Europe*, and, to the north-west of this, on the continent, the harbour of *Penfacola* is situated very safe and capacious also; both these, when properly occupied and fortified, will prove annoyances so vexatious to the *Spanish* settlements about the *Mississippi*, that it will be impossible for them to transport the treasures and products of their *American* dominions into *Europe*, in any tolerable quantity. And, was the whole chain of *British* provinces, from *Newfoundland* to the *Cape of Florida*, tolerably peopled, *Britain* would, at all times, with the assistance of its navy, be able to check and control the power of the *French* and *Spaniards* in the *American* world, and speedily to restore tranquillity to its own subjects in every part of the globe; for, if the sinews be cut, the limb of course must fail.



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## E R R A T A.

Page 4. line 29. for *Porta*, read *Punta*.

Page 22. line 18. dele *In this river Soto landed in 1539.*

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
FIRST DISCOVERY,  
AND  
NATURAL HISTORY  
OF  
FLORIDA.

THE country called by the Spaniards FLORIDA, and which they have ceded, by the late treaty, to Great Britain, extends by their accounts, according to the most accurate observations, from about 25 deg. 6 min. to 39 deg. 38 min. North latitude, and its most Eastern coast lies in about 81 deg. 30 min. West longitude from London: its whole length being nearly 1000 English miles, but the breadth very variable. They extend it on the North to the Apalachian mountains, where it is very narrow, and make the *River Altamaha* the boundary between it and *Georgia*, by which they take in the whole country of the *Lower Creek Indians*. On the North-west, they separate it from *Louisiana* by the *Rio Perdido*. To the East it hath *Georgia*, the *Atlantic Ocean*, and the channel of *Bahama*, or *Gulf of Florida*: To the South, the *Gulf of Mexico*. Though the Spaniards gave

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the name of *Florida* to a much greater extent of country than that which we confine it to, calling all the coast lying North of the gulf of *Mexico* by that appellation; yet the *English* were the first discoverers of this continent; for *Henry VII.* King of *England*, having determined to find out the North-west passage to *Cathay* and *India*, took into his service *Sebastian Cabote*, a very able mariner, and fitted out two caravals for him in 1496; the account of which we shall give in *Cabote's* own words.

“ BUT after certain days, I found that the land run towards the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast, to see if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land still continent to the 56th degree under our pole: and seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land toward the equinoctial, (ever with an intent to find the said passage to *India*) and came to that part of this firm land which is now called *Florida*, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned into *England*.”

EIGHTEEN years after this discovery of the continent by *Sebastian Cabote*, *John Ponce* of *Leon* being discharged from his government of *Boricaena*, now called *Porto Rico*, in which he had acquired great riches, fitted out two caravals, in order to discover the islands of *Boiuca*, in which, the *Indians* affirmed, was a spring, the virtue of whose waters was to restore youth: Having wandered in vain for six months, he came by accident to the *Bimins*, and discovered the land of *Florida*, in 1512, on *Easter-day*; which the *Spaniards* call the *Flourishing day of Pascha*, and from thence gave it the name of *Florida*.

A COUNTRY so extensive in latitude must be supposed to vary somewhat in point of air and climate, but it may, upon the whole, be called very warm, though the great heats in the Southern parts are much allayed by the cool breezes from the sea; and such as are more inland, towards the North, feel a little of the roughness  
of

of the North-west wind, which, more or less, with its chilling breath, prevails over the whole continent of *Northern America*, and is observed to bring with it, and spread, the inclemency of frost and snow many degrees more to the Southward in those regions, than the North-east wind doth in ours; which, though the coldest we feel, yet is of shorter duration, as the westerly winds generally prevail here. Severe cold is commonly known in the Winter months on the *American* continent, so low as 34 or 35 degrees of North latitude, which is rather more Southern than the Straits of *Gibraltar* in *Europe*, and vast shoals of ice are seen floating, and the sea frequently frozen to a small distance from the shore, in the latitude of 44° or 45° North, which are the same parallels under which the Southern parts of France lie. This difference in temperature may, perhaps, in a great measure, be accounted for by considering the amazing extent of uncultivated land, covered with forests, and intermixed with vast lakes and marshes of stagnated fresh water, over which the North-west wind blowing, meets with no accidental cause to mollify its rigour; whereas the smaller continent of Europe is broken, and interspersed with many large seas and gulfs of salt water, which having a communication with the warmer parts of the main ocean, do, by the motion and fermentation of their saline particles, greatly mellow and soften the circumambient air impregnated therewith. But, to return: notwithstanding the climate of *Florida* is, as we have said, very warm, it is not for that reason less pure and wholesome; the best testimony of which that can be given is the size, firmness, strength of constitution, and longevity of the *Floridan Indians*: in all these particulars they far exceed the *Mexicans*.

THE soil of *Florida* is remarkably rich and fruitful, frequently producing two or three crops of *Indian* corn in the year, and might, with proper cultivation, be made to bear every sort of grain, &c. It abounds with all kinds of timber, particularly pines, cedar, palms, laurel, cypress, and chestnut trees; but, above all, sassafras is found in the greatest plenty; excellent limes, and plums also grow here in great abundance, with many other fruits of a delicious flavour; vines likewise of various sorts are the natural product of the



country, and the land is thought to be as proper for the cultivation of the grape, as those of Europe are found in general to be. Cotton also grows wild here in great abundance; hemp and flax are likewise very common. The many rivers with which *Florida* is watered render it fertile. The sea-coast is very flat, sandy, and full of shoals: On this level shore there are prodigious numbers of oysters adhering to the mangrove-trees, with which the Southern coast is covered.

ANIMAL food is plenty here, and very good in its kind, particularly beef, mutton, and veal. The country also feeds great numbers of swine, the flesh of which is very good, there being no want of acorns, chesnuts, and such nourishment as is proper for these creatures. Their cattle have a kind of long black hair upon them, so fine that, with a little mixture, it is thought by some capable of being manufactured into hats, cloathing, &c. Horses are also bred here very good both for the saddle and draught, and so cheap, that one of them may be purchased for any trifle that is brought from *Europe*.

THE wild animals found in this country are the panther, bear, catamountain, stag, goat, hare, rabbit, beaver, otter, fox, racoon, and squirrel. The rivers abound with snakes, and alligators. Birds are here in great plenty, such as partridges, jays, pigeons, turtle-doves, thrushes, crows, hawks, herons, cranes, geese, ducks, and an infinite number of others, some of which have their plumage most elegantly variegated.

AMONG its more precious productions cochineal may be reckoned, of which there is both the wild and the cultivated, but the latter is by far the more valuable. The Indigo plant also groweth plentifully in many of the Southern parts of this province. Ambergris too is frequently to be met with on the coast, from *Porta de Janche*, the most Southern cape of *Florida*, as far as to *Mexico*.

THE *native Indians* of *Florida* are of an olive complexion, their bodies are robust, and finely proportioned; both sexes go naked,

ked, excepting that they fasten a piece of deer-skin about their middle. They stain their skin with the juice of plants. Their hair is black and long, and they have a method of twisting and twirling it about their heads, so as to make it look very graceful and becoming. The weapons which they make use of are bows and arrows, and those they manage with great dexterity; the strings of their bows are made of the sinews of stags, and they arm the ends of their arrows with the teeth of fishes, or with stones sharpened. The women are very handsome and well-shaped, and withal so active, that they will swim across broad rivers with their children on their backs, or climb, with surprising swiftness, to the tops of the highest trees.

IN point of religion, they are bigotted idolators, worshipping the sun and moon, and bearing an extreme aversion to all Christians; which indeed is not to be wondered at, since the horrid cruelties exercised by the Spaniards upon the natives of the adjacent island of *Cuba*, and other places, even to extirpation, could not fail to excite the utmost abhorrence and dread of them in those Savages, instead of recommending to them the purity of Christianity.

THE *Spaniards*, according to their usual custom, charge these people with many vices, in order to cast as fair a colour as they can over their inhumane behaviour to the *Indians*, both of this and other regions, whom they first butchered, and then represented as savage barbarians, in order to palliate the crime, and in some degree apologize for such proceedings, as they knew must appear shocking in the eyes of the more civilized nations of Europe. In the present case, it must nevertheless be allowed, that, from the accounts of all who have had any dealings with them, they are noted for a bold, subtle, and deceitful people.

THE government of the *Floridans* is in the hands of many petty kings, or chiefs, who are called *Cassiques*: They are generally at variance, and carrying on war against each other. But war is not waged among them in an open manner; on the contrary, they generally make use of surprize, or stratagem, exercising great cruelty

cruelty upon such as they take prisoners, slaying the males, and scalping them. They nevertheless spare the weaker sex and the children, whom they carry off with them, and carefully educate. When they have obtained a victory, they, at their return home, call together all their friends, and feast three days and nights, spending the time in singing and dancing. In their warlike expeditions, they carry with them corn, honey, and maize, sometimes fish dried in the sun. But when these fail, they will feed upon even the foulest things.

THE chief marches at their head as they are ranged for battle, carrying a club in one hand, and a bow and arrows in the other, his quiver hanging at his back; the rest follow tumultuously with the same arms. They make their attacks with horrible bellowings and clamours, not unlike the war-hoop of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*.

THEY attempt nothing rashly, previously holding a public consultation; they assemble day by day at the hut of their chief, who is honoured with a higher seat than the rest. These they enter in order, according to seniority, and, with their hands thrown above their heads, they each sing their *Ha, be, ya*, while the rest jointly accord with *Ha, ha*; after which they all take their seats. If the matter of debate be of great moment, then their priests, conjurers, or physicians, (for they have a set among them that serve in this threefold capacity) and all that are eminent on account of their age, are called in, and their opinions are particularly asked. Then the cassique carries round a kind of liquor, like our tea, made by the infusion of the leaves of a certain tree in water, which is much valued, not only by them but by the *Spaniards* also, for its diuretic quality. The chief drinketh first, after which they pour out for the rest according to rank.

THEY have a sort of council, consisting of twelve or fourteen chosen members, such as have remarkably distinguished themselves by their bravery in war, whom they call *Beloved*, and who have considerable

considerable influence, upon that account, over their respective clans.

THEIR œconomy, with regard to the management and distribution of their corn, which is accounted the common stock of the public, deserves notice. The crop, which is calculated to serve only for half of the year, is collected into granaries appointed for the purpose, and afterwards regularly delivered out to every family in proportion to its number; not that the soil is incapable of affording much beyond what they have occasion for, but they chuse to sow no more than will serve them for that term, retiring for the remainder of the year into the deep recesses of the forests, where they build huts of palm leaves, and live upon roots, fish, and wild fowl. They are also very fond of the flesh of alligators, the young of which are delicious, but have a strong musky smell: Their meat is dressed in the smoak, upon a broiler made of sticks, and their common drink is water.

THE common and private people among them are satisfied with one wife, but the chiefs and petty kings are indulged with more, though the children only of one of them succeed to the father's dignity, which they seem to make hereditary. The burial of a deceased king is celebrated among them with great solemnity: They place upon his tomb the bowl out of which he was accustomed to drink, and stick innumerable arrows in the earth around him, bewailing his death for three days with fasting and loud lamentation: the generality of them also cut off their hair, as a singular testimony of their sorrow. Then their chieftains set fire to, and consume to ashes all the arms and household furniture, together with the hut that belonged to the deceased; after which some old women are deputed, who every day, during the space of half the year, in the morning, noon, and evening, bewail him with dreadful howling, a custom that hath been practised formerly among some of the more civilized nations, particularly the *Jews* and *Romans*, who frequently hired women to mourn and weep at the funerals of their friends and relations. The *Floridans* agree also with the *Jews* in the custom of their commerce with women, &c.

THEY



THEY have their priests residing among them, whom they call *Javiinas*; and much regard is paid to them, for they act, as was before observed, in three capacities, as priests, conjurers, and physicians. They are cloathed in long robes, made of the skins of beasts, carry always a grave deportment, speak little, live abstemiously, and take every suitable precaution to preserve the influence they have gained over the minds of their countrymen. As priests, they pray, and sacrifice to the sun and moon, which seem to be the deities they worship. As magicians, they pretend to foretell the success of all expeditions, &c. And, as physicians, they bleed, bathe, vomit, and sweat the sick, till they either kill or cure them; in either case expecting a reward.

*A geographical Account of the Rivers, Bays, and Islands, on the Coast of Florida.*

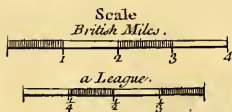
WE shall begin from the North-western boundary to take notice of whatever we can find remarkable in this country, so travel down Southward to the *Cape of Florida*, and up again by the Eastern shore, till we come to that part of the coast which confines upon *Georgia*; after this we shall proceed to give a detail of the several expeditions, made by European nations at various times, in quest of discoveries through this tract of land.

THE Western limits of *Florida* are described by *D'Anville*, in a South line from the *Apalachian* mountains, to the head of *Rio Perdido*.

RIO PERDIDO (so named because a *Spanish* ship was cast away in it, and all the men lost) is the most Western boundary on the coast of *Florida*, towards *Louisiana*. This river running a course of 70 miles nearly South-west, and sometimes almost due South, forms a lagoon at the mouth, and enters the gulf of *Mexico* about four leagues S. W. and by W. from *Pensacola*.



PLAN  
of the  
HARBOUR and SETTLEMENT  
of  
PENSACOLA.



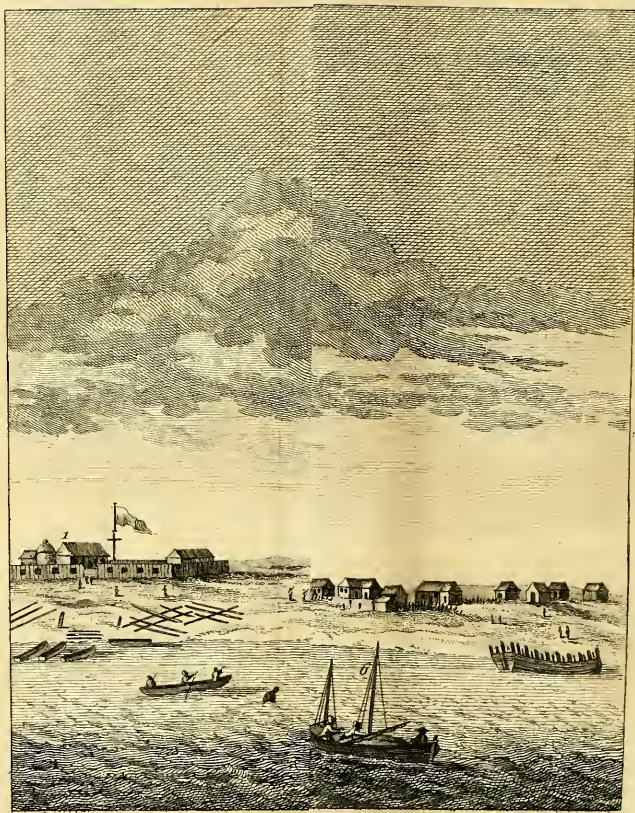


PLAN  
of the  
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*A. North V. DOM. SERRES.*

PENSACOLA is situated in 30 degrees 25 minutes North latitude. On the West-side of the entrance, within the harbour, formerly flood the town, consisting of about forty palmetto houses, defended by a small stockaded fort of about 12 or 14 guns, but of very little use, the inhabitants consisting wholly of malefactors transported hither from *Mexico*.

THIS place was first discovered by *Pamphile de Narvaes*, who landed there in his unsuccessful expedition to *Florida*, some time after *Diego de Maldonado*, one of *Ferdinand de Soto's* captains, touched here, and named it *Port d'Anchusi*. In 1558, *Don Triflan de Luna* called it the bay of *Santa Maria*; in 1693, *Don Andre de Pes* added to this name that of *de Galva*, which was the name of the viceroy of *Mexico* at that time. The *Spaniards* never call it otherwise than the bay *Santa Maria de Galva*; for the name of *Pensacola* (which was that of the Indian tribe inhabiting round this bay, but who were destroyed) was given by the *Spaniards* to the whole province, which they make very extensive.

In 1696, *Don Andre d'Arriola* took possession of it, and built a square fort with bastions, which he named *Fort St. Charles*, with a church and some houses.

THE Road of *Pensacola* is one of the best in all the *Gulf of Mexico*, in which vessels can lie in safety against every kind of wind. The bottom, which is sandy, mixed in many places with oase, is excellent for anchorage: the sea is never agitated here, because the land surrounds it on every side; it is capable of containing a great number of ships, as may be judged from its extent, and by the soundings which the figures in the plan exhibit in feet, a method more exact than if measured by fathoms.

THE tides are irregular here as well as upon all the rest of this coast. All that hath been remarked is, that in the space of twenty-four hours, the tide ebbs out of the harbour from eighteen to nineteen hours, and is from five to six hours flowing back again; and the greatest difference that hath been found between high and  
C low



*South View of Pensacola, on the Island of Santa Rosa, Drawn by DOM. SERRES.*

1. The Fort. 2. The Church. 3. The Governors House. 4. The Commandants House. 5. A Well. 6. A Bungo.



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## 10 A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

low water is about three feet, on certain days less; at other times without increase or diminution, although the currents are changing daily, but with no regularity. The winds in all probability being in some measure the cause of this variety.

THE depth of water over the bar, at the entrance of the road, in the middle of the channel, is never less than twenty-one feet. A ship that is going in, before she comes upon this bar must bring the fort of *Penfacola* to bear between N. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  N. N. E. and hold on this course until she finds the fort on the isle of *Santa Rosa* bear E. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. N. E. from her. She must then haul up a little towards the main land on the West, keeping at much the same distance between that and the island, in order to avoid the point, from which a little bank stretches out pretty far towards the West North West.

IF the reef that is to the West of the bar breaks, which is always the case in a gale of wind, the breakers may serve instead of a buoy to vessels; but you must range, on entering upon the bar, at the distance of a good musket shot from them, and afterwards steer according to the directions we have just laid down.

THE currents which make out of the road are sometimes very brisk; you must therefore make an allowance for them, lest they should run the vessel upon the reef.

IF the course above directed be carefully observed, you will nowhere meet with less than nineteen feet and an half water over the bar, and on the middle thereof you will find twenty feet: so that any vessel not drawing more than nineteen feet can enter into the road when the sea does not run high; but it is necessary either to warp or tow in all those which draw twenty feet. It is plain from hence that men of war of sixty guns may enter, and if they were built somewhat flat-bottomed, as the *Dutch* build them, they might pass every where, though of seventy guns, and all above that size are unnecessary in this country.

THIS road hath one inconvenience, which is, that many rivers emptying themselves into it, great currents are caused thereby; and both canoes and shallops exposed to run a-ground in going to and fro in the road for the service of the ships; but as the ground is only sand they are never staved. There is, on the other hand, a very considerable advantage in this road arising from the same cause, which is, that the worm, not loving the fresh waters, doth not breed here, so that vessels are never bored by them in this harbour.

WHEN the *French* ravaged this coast in 1719, they destroyed the old town and fort, which was then situated on the island of *Penfacola*, since which the *Spaniards* have erected the new town on the island of *Santa Rosa*, as being more detached and secure from the Indians. The landing place is within the bay, in very shallow water, the town being situate on a sandy shore, which is as white as snow, and can be approached only by very small vessels. The bay abounds with great plenty of mullets, and other fine fish. The town is defended by a small fort surrounded by stockados, the principal house is the governor's; the rest of the town is composed of small huts or cabbins, built without any order, as may be seen by the view, which was drawn by a person who resided here in 1743, and was in the service of the Havana company, and sent in a schooner laden with a cargo for this place. As soon as he arrived at *Penfacola*, he embarked on board an open wherry for *New Orleans*; and sailed between the mainland and the isle of *Dauphine*, the isles à *Corne*, aux *Vaisseaux*, and aux *Chats*, thro' the *Passé à Guion* into the lake *Pontchartrain*, and landed within four miles of *New Orleans*, where, after buying up a great quantity of pitch and tar for the Havana company's use, he made great advantage of 6000 dollars in private trade, and returned to *Penfacola*; the schooner having taken in her cargo, with two masts for the company's use, each eighty-four feet long, pursued their voyage to the Havana.

THE island of *Santa Rosa* is a very sandy soil, being thirty-three miles long, extending from *Penfacola* almost due east to the bay

of *Santa Rosa*, and is separated from the mainland by a channel, half a league over, which is only navigable for small boats.

THE *Bay of Santa Rosa* is twelve leagues <sup>east</sup> west of *Penfacola*. An island at the mouth forms two entrances. We have no particular description of this harbour, though it appears by the Spanish draughts to be an extensive one.

THE *Bay of St. Joseph* is situate in latitude 29 deg. 46 min. about thirty leagues almost S. E. from *Penfacola*. This bay is formed by a long narrow ridge which extends from the mainland in shape of a C for the space of twenty miles, the southern point of which is called by the Spaniards *Cabo Escondido*, and by the French *Cap Caché*. This bay is about thirteen miles long, and eight wide, and there is very good anchorage in four, five, or six fathom water.

THERE are two rivulets which empty themselves into this bay, one of salt water and the other of fresh; this last is a branch of the *Apalachicola* river. In the year 1717 the French erected fort *Crevecœur*, about a mile to the northward of the fresh water river, but they abandoned it the next year, on the representations made by the governor of *Penfacola*, that this bay belonged to his Catholick Majesty. This fort is said by some to be lined with stone, by others, only made of earth, well defended by pallisadoes; but, however, all agree in its being tolerably strong, well supplied with cannon, and a sufficient garrison. The houses are very neat and commodious, and there is a handsome church; but the streets so fandy as to render it very inconvenient passing and repassing.

THE *Bay of St. Andrews* lies seven miles to the N. W. of the *Bay of St. Joseph*, of which we have no particular description.

APALACHICOLA or *Cabuitas river* rises in the *Apalachian* mountains, and receives on the west side, about eighty miles from its source, the *Chataouchi*,—and fifty miles lower down the *Euchi* creek, on the forks of which is a village of the same name;—  
ninety



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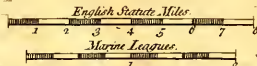
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PLAN  
of the BAY of  
ST JOSEPH,  
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GULF of MEXICO.





ninety miles from which this river receives the *Chatabospa*, between which and the *Chataouchi*, on the west side of the river *Apalachicola*, are situated the *Chataouchi*, *Cabuitas*, *Euchi*, *Westos*, *Cullomas*, *Attases*, *Jaskegis*, *Cussetas*, and *Ohmulgo*; and more to the South, on the east side of the river, are the *Hogolegis*, *Savanas*, and *Echetos*. All these tribes united are the Indians called the *Lower Creeks*; and, though the *Spaniards* used to reckon these people under their dominion, they have long been the allies and under the protection of *Great Britain*. This river is joined by a great stream, called by the *English* *Flint River*, which runs from the confines of *Georgia*, and after a course of 150 miles, enters this river about forty miles south of the *Chatabospa*, and 120 miles from the sea, at the forks of which rivers is situated the fort of *Apalachicola*. Within five leagues of the sea this river divides into two branches, the western of which is named *Calistobole* river, and the small fresh water river which runs into the bay of *St. Joseph* is a branch of this river.

THE river *Apalachicola* enters the gulf of *Mexico* in 29 deg. 43 min. north latitude, and five leagues N. E. from *Cabo Escondido*. There is some difficulty in finding this opening, by reason of the many islands and lakes before and about it; and though it is a noble river, whose mouth formeth a spacious harbour, from whence a trade is carried on by small vessels to the *Havana*, yet it hath not more than the depth of two and a half or three fathoms of water at most over the bar; but when that is once passed, it groweth very deep and large. The tide is said to flow higher up this river than into any other on the coast, some say not less than fifty miles; though this is not so much to be wondered at, when we consider, that the country all round it is one perfect level, and that it feels the force of a double current, one from the west and another from the south in the gulf of *Mexico*. On both sides of this river, near the sea coast, live several tribes, called by the name of *Apalache Indians*. On the west side of the mouth of this river the *Spaniards* erected a fort in 1719. On the east side the *J. of Dogs* extends along the coast for fifteen miles. About 22 miles from the mouth of this river the *R. de Vines* enters the gulf of *Mexico*, and seven miles

miles farther the *R. de las Anades* falls into the gulf. Ten miles from hence is *Punta de Meneses*, the western point of the *Apalache* river.

APALACHE or *Ogelagena* river enters the bay of *Apalache* about forty miles to the eastward of *Apalachicola* river, and rises above 130 miles from the sea, in the confines of *Georgia*. It is not known to receive any river of note in all its course, till near the bay, one considerable river unites with it. This is a very fine river, and its entrance forms a large bay, which has some shallows and rocks, stretching out from the land; but in the middle there is five fathom water. The course into the mouth of this river is N. and within is a good harbour. This place lies N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  Westerly from the *Tortugas*, and in the passage is found all the way navigable foundations. A trade is carried on between this place and the *Havana* by small craft. On the first of these rivers are the *Yapalage*, *Capola*, *Aspalaga* and *St Juan*, and on the other *Ocon* and *Ayavala*. On the west of the river is situated the town of *St. Mark de Apalache*, from whence the bay also derives its name. This, by some geographers, is very improperly called *Santa Maria d' Apalachia*; it is an old settlement, and stands exactly in the same place that *Garcilasso de la Vega* fixes the *Port d' Auté*. It was formerly very considerable, but the *English* from *Carolina* having taken, and, in a great measure, destroyed it in the year 1704, it never since has recovered its pristine state, tho' the *Spaniards* often endeavoured to re-establish it. The fort is built on a little eminence, surrounded by marshes, situated on the forks of the two rivers; and at about two leagues distance from the fort, there is on this river a village of *Apalachian* Indians, called *Santo Juan*, as also some others in the neighbourhood. The governor of *Santo Marco* is under the command of the governor of *St. Augustine*, receiving his instructions in any extraordinary affair either civil or military. The country is beautiful, being well supplied with wood and water; and we are also informed the country becomes more fertile the higher you advance into it.

THERE is a road over land from the mouth of this river to *St. Augustin*, which is as follows.

OCON

Ocon is fifteen miles from *St. Marks*, and ten miles beyond is *Ayavalla* fort; twenty-four miles further is *Machalla*, and eleven miles from that is *St. Matheo*; both these are situated on branches of the *Rio Vasisa*, which is about eighty miles in length, and enters the gulf of *Mexico* fifteen miles S. E. from *St. Marks*. Twenty-five miles from *St. Matheo* is *San Pedro*, on the south side of the river *San Pedro*, which is 100 miles long, and enters the gulf of *Mexico* seventy miles from *St. Marks*; eleven miles from *San Pedro* is *Utoca*, and in twelve miles more we come to *Nuvoalla*, situated on the east side of the *Carolinian* river, the course of which has not yet been ascertained, but there is very good reason to suppose that it runs a south course into the *Rio Anasura*. Eight miles from *Nuvoalla* is *Alochua*, and in eight miles more we come to *Jurla Noca*. All these places were formerly the ancient settlements of the *Atinucas* Indians, who were driven from them by the *English* from *Carolina* in 1706, and have fixed their settlement on an island to the East of the *Rio de St. Juan*, about sixty-five miles S. W. of *St. Augustine*, and call their chief settlement *Pueblo de Atinucas*. Twenty-six miles from *Jurla Noca* we come to a *Spanish* settlement on the banks of the *Rio de St. Juan*. Though the river is here only two miles broad, yet it is eight miles over that and two islands to *Fort Picolata*, which is the last stage, and is thirty miles distant from *Fort St. Augustine*. This road is 183 miles from *St. Marks*.

*The western coast of the peninsula of Florida*

BEGINS in about 30 deg. N. and terminates at the cape. It is more than 300 miles in length, and from 140 to 180 in breadth. Being chiefly a low and flat land, it abounds with a great number of rivers that form a multitude of islands, and withal several large bays and lakes, which have not been described nor laid down with any accuracy in any of the draughts extant.



## 16 A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

EIGHT miles from the entrance of *Apalachia* river the *R. Vitches* enters the gulf, twelve miles to the south of which is the *Rio Vassila*, and nine leagues from thence is the *Rio Pedro*, almost S. E. from *Apalache* river.

EIGHT leagues to the south of *Rio Pedro* lies the *Cayos de St. Martin*; and between *Rio Pedro* and the *Rio Amasura* are the two small rivers of *St. Martin* and *Tocobogas*. Between these rivers reside the tribe of *Tocobogas*.

FROM the *Farellon de Pogoi* extends a ledge of rocks four leagues South West; this ledge makes the north side of the entrance into the *Rio Amasura*.

*Rio Amasura* ó *Masuro*. The entrance of this river, which is in latitude 28 deg. 25 min. is ten miles wide, and it is not less than three miles over for above thirty miles up the river. There are in this river, which in general is very wide, several passages between the islands to the *Atlantic* ocean and gulf of *Florida*. One leads out through the *Rio de Musquito*, in latitude 28 deg. 50 min. another through the *Rio St. Lucia*, called by some *Rio de Cruz*, in latitude 27 deg. 33 min.; but the principal one is that which is supposed to communicate in a direct channel with the *Rio de St. Juan*, that enters the *Atlantic* ocean in 30 deg. 20 min. about 30 miles north of *St. Augustine*. If these rivers should prove navigable for small vessels, it will be of great utility to the *British* trade, by making the navigation to *Pensacola* for some months shorter than the course which otherwise must be taken round by the west end of *Cuba*.

*Cayo del Anclote* serves as the southern land mark for the entrance into the *Rio Amasura*. This island extends twenty-three miles from North to South along the coast, at the end of which is the *Babia de San Joſe*, a place but very little known.

*Babia del Espiritu Santo*. This is a very large and noble bay; extending above twenty leagues in length, and six in breadth where broadest,





broadest, having from five to seven fathom water, except at the eastern outlet that goes into the *Laguna del Espiritu Santo*, where it is not more than two fathom: there are two large islands at the entrance, which form two channels into it. The northern channel, which is about sixteen leagues south of *Rio Amasura*, has from ten to twelve fathom water, and the southern channel has three, five and seven fathom water. There is about seven leagues from the north channel a large bay about six miles over, and which extends twenty miles to the N. W.; this is called *Tampa Babia*, and is conjectured to have communication with *Babia de St. Josef*. There is another opening on the north shore, about twenty miles from *Tampa Babia*, which has a communication with the other rivers. About nine leagues from the southern channel is a passage almost S. W. into *Babia de Carlos*. This bay, which lies from west to east in about 27 deg. 30 min. north latitude, is capable of receiving the largest fleet that ever was collected in this part of the world, and may, in case of any future rupture, be of great importance to the crown of *Great Britain*; for the galleons in their passage from *Vera Cruz* to the *Havana* are obliged, by reason of the N. E. trade winds, to stretch away to the northward, and as soon as they have made *La Sunda*, they keep as near the coast of *Florida* as possible, and generally fall in with some men of war that cruize to the northward of the *Tortugas* on purpose to meet and convoy them to the *Havana*.

*Babia de Carlos* is about four leagues S. W. of the southern entrance into the *Babia del Espiritu Santo*. This bay extends about fourteen leagues almost S. E. from its entrance, and is about five leagues over in the broadest part: it is very shallow, having at most but three fathoms water. There are several openings about the bay between the islands, the chief of which communicates with the *Laguna del Espiritu Santo*.

THERE are five large islands to the south of *Babia de Carlos*, which is inhabited by the *Muspa* Indians. Twenty-three leagues south of the entrance into the *Babia de Carlos* lies the *Punta de Afies*, in latitude 25 deg. 50 min. being the most S. W. point of





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all *Florida*. Twenty-four leagues from this point almost S. E. lies the *Punta de Janche*, which is the most southern point of *Florida*, in latitude 25 deg. 25 min. On this point there is a lake of fresh water, and very good anchorage round the *Cayos*, near the point.

*Laguna del Espiritu Santo* is situated between the islands, extending from north to south about 27 leagues, and is near eight leagues wide; it has several communications with the bays on the west side of the peninsula, as well as with the Gulf of *Florida*. The principal and best known entrance is about three leagues almost west from the *Punta de Florida*, which lies in 26 deg. 20 min. N. latitude. This entrance is two leagues nearly N. W. and at the end of it, in the lake, are two shoals and six islands, called the *Cayos del Espiritu Santo*: this large lake is as yet but little known.

*La Sonda* is a very large bank, that extends on the west side of the peninsula into the gulf of *Mexico*, beginning in latitude 24 deg. 23 min. at the distance of thirty leagues from the peninsula, stretching to the northward along the coast, and having in some places 100 fathom water, decreasing very regularly as it approaches the shore. On the south part of this bank are about nine or ten islands on a bank, which is dry at low water, called the *Tortugas*: they are in latitude 24 deg. 50 min. North, surrounded on the S. E. end by rocks. Round these islands there is very good anchorage from three to twenty fathom water.

THE *Cayo Marques* consist of one large and about ten small islands, surrounded on the N. W. side by a great number of rocks that extend to the N. W. above ten leagues. On the east side is a channel about four miles over of five fathom water: this is called *Boca Grande* or the *Great Mouth*.

ON the *La Sonda*, north of the *Tortugas*, there is a very good fishery, where is plenty of meros and pardos, which are as large, or rather larger, and more delicious than the *Newfoundland* cod; and

and it also abounds with great plenty of seals, the fat of which the *Spaniards* pay the bottom of their ships with at the *Havana*. The *Indians* of *Ratones* and the south parts of *Florida* cure great quantities of this fish, which, with the hats and mats they make of grass and barks of trees in great perfection, they exchange in traffick with the *Spaniards*, who come here from the *Havana* with *European* goods for the use of the natives.

THE vast current of water which sets in with a constant and strong stream to the west upon all the southern parts of the main land in the *Mexican* gulf, as far as the strand of *La Vera Cruz*, returns back towards the East, between the island of *Cuba* and the southern coast of *North America*; and finding no vent till it cometh to *Cape Florida*, it is there forced about again from South to North, and so runs through this channel between *Florida* and the *Bahama* islands into the *Atlantic* ocean.

THE cause of this continual diversion towards the North may be the opposition that this efflux meets with in its tendency eastward back from the trade winds, which always blow between, and a little way without both the tropics, and the westward direction of the *Atlantic* ocean in those parts; not to mention the strong barricade of the *Bahama* islands, which are ranged, as it were on purpose, to direct and alter the course of this outsetting current. The navigation upon the extreme parts of *Florida* is remarkably dangerous, not only because it is within the course of the trade-winds, but because the whole shore upon which the current for the most part sets is particularly low, flat, broken ground; and full nine leagues into the sea the water is in many places quite shallow, excepting some winding deep channels in several parts of it, which are the causes of frequent shipwrecks; for whenever a ship falls into one of these channels, she very rarely, if ever, gets clear of it; because, being deceived by the deep soundings, and having unwarily entered so far within the banks, that there is no returning by the same way, the vessel must inevitably be lost. From the consideration of these dangers, mariners are obliged to make an allowance of about five points in the compass for the current, keeping as

near as possible to the *Babama* side; and from some error in this allowance it is that ships are insensibly driven too close upon the coast of *Florida*.

THE *Cayos de los Martyres* are a large chain of islands and rocks, extending in a circular form about 60 leagues from the *Boca Grande*, in 24 deg. 40 min. North latitude, at the distance of thirteen leagues from *Punta Janche* to *Punta Florida*.

A PERFECT knowledge of these islands and rocks would be of great consequence in navigating the gulf of *Florida* with safety. The best account we have been able to procure of them is as follows:

*Cayos de Chequimula* are about ten in number, lying in the latitude of 24 deg. 40 min. and extend above eight leagues east from *Boca Grande*.

*Cayo de Hueso* is 12 miles in length from West to East, and eight miles to the south thereof runs a ledge of rocks: there is a channel between them having five fathom water. To the eastward of this island lies the *Cayo Pinero* and the *Babia Honda*, close to which there is five fathom water.

THE *Cayos de Vacas* are a cluster of small islands and banks, which, with the *Vivora* and *Matacumbe*, extend quite to the *Cayo Largo*, the principal of all the *Martyres*.

*Cayo Largo ó de Doce Leguas*. This is the largest of all the *Martyres*, beginning in the latitude 25 deg. and extending from the south point about 13 leagues almost N. E. On the west side of it lie several small *Cayos*, and along the east coast there ranges a bank which is dry at low water, on which stand *Cayo de Tivanos*, surrounded with rocks; also the *Cayo Palem* and *Cayo Escrivano*. To the east of this bank there is another, which is also dry at low water, and between them there is a channel near two miles wide, having from three to four fathom water all the way through. Each of these banks range in the direction of the coast of said *Cayo*, and  
are

are about ten leagues long; and without them, to the eastward, runs a ledge of rocks called the *Martyres*, at about three leagues distance from the *Cayo Largo*.

*Las Tetas*, so named from two hills on it, lies in the latitude of 25 deg. 45 min. The channel between this and *Cayo Largo* is three leagues over. Almost a league north of this lies *Playuelos* in latitude 25 deg. 55 min. being three leagues long; and to the north hereof are several small Cayos, the largest of which is four miles long, called *Mucaras*, lying in latitude 26 deg.; to the northward whereof are three small Cayos in four fathom water. The next is *Cayo de la Perida*, situate in latitude 26 deg. 10 min. being seven miles in length. On both sides of this island there are banks running out a league from shore, and on the east side is four fathom water.

*Cayo de Biscayno*, otherwise called by some *Portland Race*, is situate in latitude 26 deg. 15 min. ranging in a N. E. and S. W. direction. It is seven miles long, and has four fathom water close in shore. To the North hereof lies the small island of

*Cayo Ratones*, about four miles in length, on which there is an Indian town, called *Pueblo Raton*, which is the only settlement of Indians that we have any account of on the *Martyres*.

In the year 1733, a fleet of fourteen galleons, on their return through the *Gulf of Florida* for *Old Spain*, ran foul of the *Martyres* rocks, occasioned by the ignorance of the Admiral Don *Rodrigo de Torres*. For one of the captains disobeying the admiral's signals, thereby avoided the danger, and saved his ship; but the other thirteen were entirely lost, with great part of their treasure: and, for many years after, these wrecks were much frequented by the *Spanish* and *Indian* divers, who were often very successful in recovering great quantities of dollars.



*The East Coast of the Peninsula of Florida.*

**B**OCA DE RATONES lies in 26 deg. 40 min. North latitude, and 5 leagues to the Northward of *Pueblo de Raton*. There are numbers of islands in this channel. Five leagues to the Northward hereof lies *Rio Seco*, in latitude 27 deg. at the mouth whereof is ten fathom water; and three leagues to the Northward lies

*Rio Jego ó Goga*, which leads into a laguna full of small islands, and has several communications with the great *Laguna del Espiritu Santo*. About seven miles to the Northward of this opening, there is a remarkable high land, called *Ropa Tendida*. About five leagues from the mouth of this river is

*Rio Jobe*, in latitude 27 deg. 24 min. this also has a communication with the abovementioned lake. About ten miles to the Northward hereof opens the

*Rio Santa Lucia*, called in some maps *Rio Santa Cruz*, lying in latitude 27 deg. 33 min. This river has a communication with the *Babia del Espiritu Santo*, and with the *Rio Amazura*, which empties itself into the *Gulf of Mexico*. In this river *Soto* landed in the year 1539.

*Rio de Ays*, three leagues North of *Rio Santa Cruz*, and in latitude 27 deg. 45 min. has five fathom water at its entrance, which leads into a fine harbour, within which, at about nine leagues to the Westward, is situated *Pueblo del Cassique Sebastian*.

THE *Tortolas* are a ledge of rocks, beginning in latitude 27 deg. 56 min. in length about six leagues, which, running parallel to the coast, reaches to the entrance of a bay called

*El Palmar*, situate in latitude 28 deg. 13 min. This bay is ten miles in length, lying almost North and South, and in breadth about

about two miles, having at its entrance ten fathom water. From hence the coast stretches to the N. E. forming, at about seven leagues distance from the *Tortolas*, the head-land, or cape, called

*Cabo del Canaveral*, in latitude 28 deg. 27 min. which is the Eastermost point of all *Florida*, and is surrounded with rocks, lying at about two miles off from the shore; close to these rocks is ten fathom water. To the Eastward of this cape there are three banks, which extend themselves six leagues into the *Atlantic* ocean, and have channels between them. To the Northward of it also lies *El Buey*, which is a dangerous bank of rocks, having from ten to twenty fathom water close round it; and to the Northward hereof lies another small bank. The coast now stretches to the Northwest, and on it is a little bay, called

*La Roque*, lying at about nine leagues distance from *Cabo del Canaveral*; and, about four leagues to the Northward of this, opens

*Rio de Mosquitos*. The mouth of this river lies in latitude 28 deg. 48 min. There is a direct communication through this river by the *Rio Amazura* into the *Gulf of Mexico*.

THE *Mosquitos* are a tribe of *Indians*, inhabiting both sides of this river. The coast now runs nearly North and South, and on it are found

*Barraderas*, a small bay, lying in latitude 28 degrees 56 minutes, as also *Ayamonte*, another small bay, in latitude 29 degrees 4 minutes.

*El Penon* is an *Indian* settlement on an island thirteen leagues to the North of *Rio de Mosquitos*, situate at the entrance of the *Rio Matanzas*, through which there is a communication to *St. Augustin*.

*Barra*

*Barra de Matanzas* has eight feet water on it, but afterwards, within the river, from ten to 15 fathom. On the North side of the entrance of this river is high land, called *Torre de Romo*.

*Santa Anastasia* island is nine leagues long, reaching from the *Barra de Matanzas* to the entrance of the harbour of *St. Augustin*, which it helps to form.

*St. Augustin* lies in 29 deg. 50 min. North latitude: the city runs along the shore, at the foot of a pleasant hill, adorned with trees; its form is oblong, divided by four regular streets crossing each other at right angles. Down by the sea-side, about three fourths of a mile South of the town, standeth the church, and a monastery of *St. Augustin*. The best built part of the town is on the North side, leading to the castle, which is called *St. John's Fort*. It is a square building of soft stone, fortified with whole bastions, having a rampart twenty feet high, with a parapet nine feet thick, and it is cazemated. The town is also fortified with bastions, and inclosed with a ditch: The whole well furnished with cannon. The harbour is formed by the North-end of *Santa Anastasia* island, and a long point of land, divided from the continent by the river *St. Mark*, which falls into the sea a little above the castle. At the entrance of this harbour are the North and South breakers, forming two channels, whose bars have from eight to nine fathom water over them at low water. On the North and South, without the walls of the city, are two *Indian* towns.

THE little fort is situated at the entrance of a river into the *Rio Matanzas*, about four miles South of *St. Augustin*, and at the end of a marsh. Fort *Musa* is four miles North of *St. Augustin*.

*Rio St. Sebastian*. This river runs out of a lake, and enters the *Rio Matanzas* a little to the South of *St. Augustin*.

*Rio St. Marco* has communication with *Rio St. Juan*. It enters the sea at the harbour of *St. Augustin*. This river, with that of *St. Sebastian*, forms an island, on which *St. Augustin* is situate.

# PLAN of the TOWN and HARBOUR ST. AUGUSTINE

Miles.



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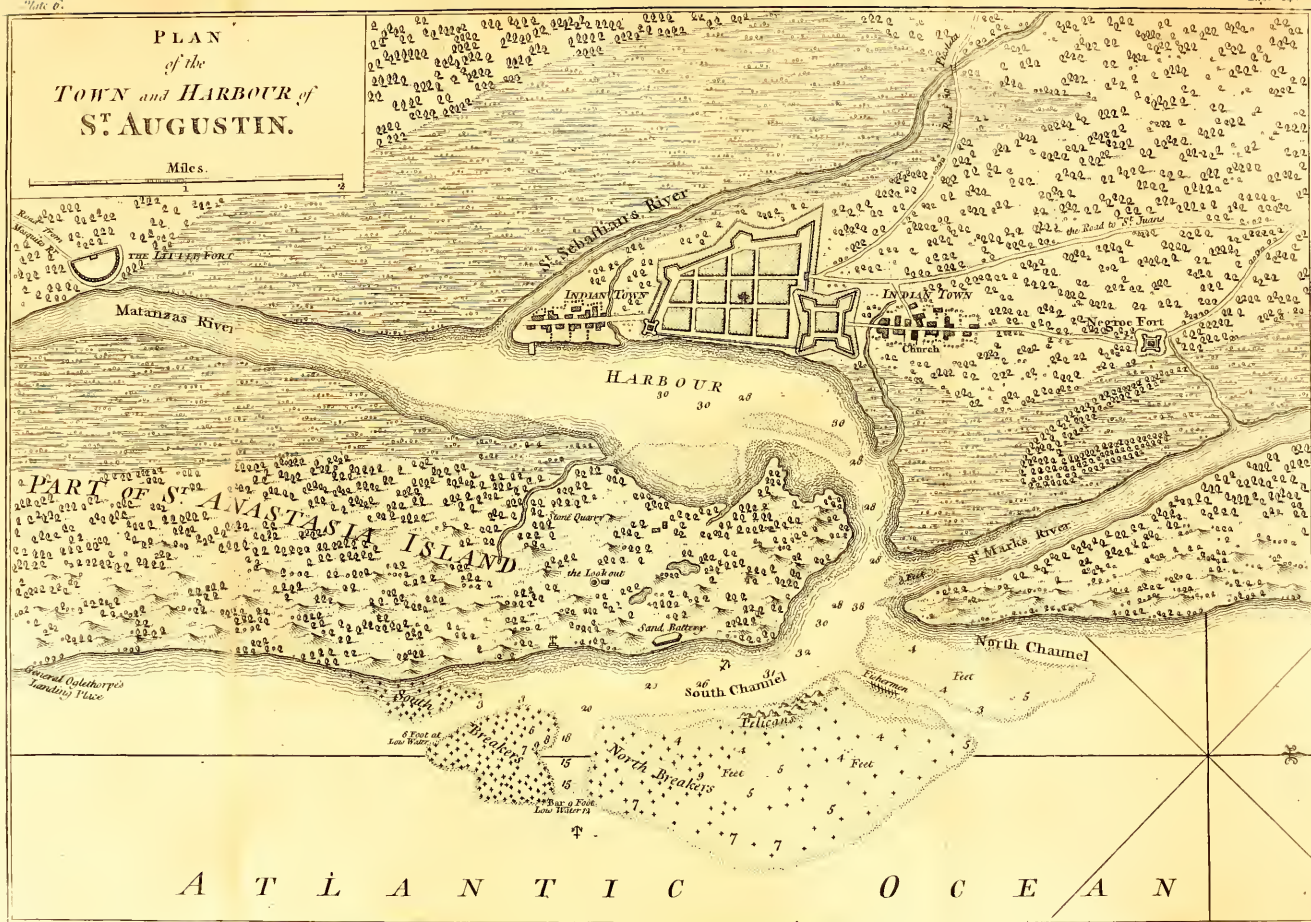
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PLAN  
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Miles.



A T L A N T I C

O C E A N



*El Canuelo* is a small bay, about three leagues North of *St. Augustin*.

*Vigia* is a little settlement about two miles from *El Canuelo*.

FORT *Diego* is situated on the North bank of the *Rio St. Marco*, about twenty miles from *St. Augustin*, in the road from that place to *St. Juan*.

*St. Juan*, by some called *St. Matheo*, is the most northern Spanish settlement on the East coast of *Florida*. It is situate on the South-side of the *Rio St. Juan*, about nine miles from *Fort George*. *Rio de St. Juan* is a large river, near seven miles broad at the mouth; by this river there is a communication, all through the peninsula, with the *Rio Amazura*, *Babia del Espiritu Santo*, and *Laguna del Espiritu Santo*; and very probably, by small craft, might be navigable quite through into the *Gulf of Mexico*.

*An Account of the several Expeditions made to Florida, by the English, French, and Spaniards, from the first Discovery of this Country to the present Times.*

*Expedition of John Ponce de Leon.*

ON the 3d of *March*, in the year 1512, *John Ponce de Leon*, a gentleman of *Spain*, sailed with three ships from the port of *St. German*, in the island of *Puerto Rico*. He steered his course to the North-west, and, on the eighth day after, made the island *Viego*, in 21 deg. 30 min. North latitude, and anchored on the next day under one of the *Caicos* islands; thence sailing by the little isle of *Maguana*, on the 27th he arrived at *Guanani*, (the first land discovered by *Columbus*) and, continuing the same course, he again made land on the 3d of *April*, in the latitude of 30 deg. 8 min.

E

North,

North, which, taking to be an island, he named it, as before mentioned, *Florida*. He went ashore with some of his people, both to inform himself concerning the inhabitants, and to take possession of the country with the ceremonies used upon such occasions. This being done, he again set sail, on the 8th day of the month, toward the South, and, coasting along the shore, still cast anchor, as he perceived any of the Savages, or their hutts, appear; the next day, having advanced a little way into the sea, he found so strong a current against him, that though the wind was favourable, and the vessels carried all their sails to it, they were not only unable to proceed, but with difficulty held their anchors. Here the *Spaniards*, being invited by the natives, ventured on shore; the Savages, when they were landed, began with hauling up the boat, and carrying off the oars, &c. To this the *Spaniards* made no opposition at first, being loth to irritate them; but when the latter became so wantonly furious as almost to kill one of the soldiers, both sides fell to blows, till night parted them. In this encounter, two *Spaniards* were wounded. Going to water at a neighbouring river, they were fortunate enough to make a prisoner of one of the Savages; him they afterwards made use of both for a guide and interpreter. Upon the bank of this river they placed a cross with an inscription, from which occurrence it is still called the *Rio de la Cruz*. Having passed by the *Cape of Florida* on the 8th of *May*, they continued their course to the South all down the coast, till, in latitude 25 deg. they fell in with a range of islands and rocks, to which the *Spaniards* gave the name of *Martyrs*, from a resemblance the cliffs bore, in their fancy, to men fixed upon stakes. A name of bad presage, as many ships have since experienced to their destruction. *Ponce*, after this slight trial of the inhabitants, and not in the least suspecting *Florida* to be a part of the continent, steered away to the North-east, through the *Lucayos* islands, and so to that of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, whence he had first set out.

*Expedition of Luke Vasquez of Aylon.*

IN the year 1520, *Luke Vasquez of Aylon*, a licentiate, being in want of hands to work in the mines, entered into a resolution, with some associates, to try if they could steal off a number of Savages from the neighbouring islands, to be employed in this business. For this purpose, they equipped two ships, and sailed out of the harbour of *Plata*, situated on the North-side of *Hispaniola*, and steered, either by chance or design, which it was is uncertain, a North-western course, until they came to the most distant of the *Lucayos* islands; and thence, to what was then part of *Florida*, in 32° North latitude, now called *St. Helena*. At the sight of their ships making towards the shore with expanded sails, the amazed natives ran in crowds to view them, conceiving that they must be some monstrous fishes driven upon the coast; but, as soon as they saw men with beards and covered with clothing, land out of these floating mansions, they fled in a panic. The Spaniards, having stopped two of them, carried them off into their ships; where, after having entertained them with meat and drink, they sent them back again cloathed in the *Spanish* habit. The king of the country, admiring the dress, sent fifty of his people to the ships, with a present of various fruits and provisions; and, not contented with doing this, he made a party of his subjects attend the *Spaniards* in the many excursions into the neighbouring provinces, with which, at their request, he gratified their inclinations; where they were presented with gold, plates of silver, pearls, &c. and received in the most hospitable manner. The *Spaniards*, having made their own observations, as they passed, upon the customs and manners of the inhabitants, the soil, and climate, invited a large number of the natives (after they had watered their ships, and were prepared for departure) to an entertainment on board their vessels; where, having plied their guests well with liquor, they took that wicked opportunity to weigh anchor, and sail away with these unhappy deluded people towards *Hispaniola*. Many of the poor



wretches pined to death with vexation, and from an obstinate refusal of food; the greater part of what remained perished in one of the vessels that foundered at sea; and some of them, in vain appealing to the violated rights of hospitality, were hurried into a cruel and hopeless slavery. *Vasquez*, instead of the punishment due to so inhuman and horrid a proceeding, expected, and obtained of the king, the reward appointed for such as discovered new lands, together with the usual immunities they were entitled to. Which, when he had received, in the year 1524, he sent more ships to *Florida*, and was so elated with the accounts he had from them, of the fertility of the soil, and the great plenty of gold, silver, and pearls, to be found there; that he hastened thither himself, the next year, with three ships: but, having lost one of them, when near the Cape of *St. Helen*; and 200 of his people, whom he had landed, being entirely destroyed by the natives, more through their own negligence, and supine security, than the bravery of the inhabitants; disappointed of his wishes, and broken hearted, he returned back again to *Hispaniola*.

*Expedition of Pamphilo Narvez.*

PAMPHILO NARVA, not discouraged by the bad success of *Vasques*, in the year 1526, procured a patent from *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor and King of *Spain*, constituting him governor of all the lands that should be discovered from the river of *Palms* to the extreme boundaries of *Florida*. In the month of *March* 1628, he set sail, with 400 foot and twenty horse, on board of his vessels, out of the harbour of *Xagua*, on the South-side of the island of *Cuba*. After some difficulties, he doubled the Cape of *St. Antony*, the Western point of *Cuba*, and stood along the North-side of it, as far Eastward as the harbour of *Havana*; where, meeting with a breeze from the South, he obtained a prosperous passage over to *Florida*, and arrived there on the 12th of *April*. He cast anchor in a bay, from whence he could see the cottages of the Savages upon the continent. The day following

he landed part of his forces, but found that the natives had deserted their houses; in which, happening to find some instrument of gold, filled with hopes, he immediately disembarked the rest of his troops, and took possession of the country for the King of *Spain*, with the usual ceremonies. The Savages, soon after, drew near; but what they meant remained a secret, for want of an interpreter, farther than that they seemed, by their menacing air, to order the *Spaniards* to leave their country. The governor, proceeding a little way forward, found another bay of great extent, reaching far within the continent: up which, having advanced a few leagues, he fell in with some Savages, who offered him maize. Whilst he was employed in gaining intelligence from these people, he found four wooden cases, wherein carcases, covered with the skins of wild animals, and painted after the manner of the Savages, were hidden. Upon them there were laid pieces of linen and woollen cloth, together with some sprigs of gold, which, the natives insisted, they had from *Apalache*, a region far distant from them, and very rich in that metal.

THE governor, still raised into higher expectations by this information, ordered his forces to march by land, and the ships to follow, keeping along shore, *Cabeca de Vaca*, the treasurer, in vain opposing him. On the first of *May*, having distributed to every soldier two pounds of bisquet, and half a pound of pork, he set forward with a light body of 300 men, forty of which were horse; and performed a journey of fifteen days, through a desolate country, void of inhabitants, and destitute of food, till they came to a river, which they crossed partly by swimming, and partly upon rafts made out of what timber they could find. The Savages stood on the opposite bank, and conducted the *Spaniards* to their huts, where they refreshed them with maize. After resting here for a short space, *Narva* dispatched a few of his people to explore the sea-coast, who found, as far as they discovered, that it was full of shoals, and without ports; having travelled fifteen days journey farther, without seeing even the footsteps of an inhabitant, at last, on the seventeenth of *June*, he met one of the petty kings, cloathed with a stag's hide, elegantly painted, preceded by a multitude of  
Savages,

Savages, some of them blowing horns, &c. to whom he explained, by signs, that his rout was to *Apalache*. The *Indian* gave them to understand that he was an enemy to the *Apalachians*; and, after the mutual exchange of a few presents, and passing another river, he entertained them in his towns with maize and venison. Hence, through most harrassing and almost impassible ways, on the 25th of the same month, *Narva* and his party arrived at *Apalache*; and, falling upon the natives, who neither expected nor were at all prepared to receive such a visit, the town was taken at the first attack. Great quantities of maize, skins of beasts, garments woven of thread, (for the most civilized of the *Floridans* make a decent sort of coarse cloth, out of the inward bark of some trees which abound in that country, as well as ropes, &c.) together with other commodities belonging to the inhabitants, fell into their hands. The town consisted of forty low cottages, covered with straw, excellently guarded against accidents of winds, which, at times, are very frequent in these places, and defended likewise on every side by ridges of lofty mountains, and a deep oozy ground.

ALL the land they had hitherto passed over was flat and sandy, abounding with walnut, laurel, cedar, fir, pine, and low palm trees, moistened with many lakes, or else encumbered with the trunks of old trees. Numberless wild beasts appeared wandering about the woods: the country somewhat cold, but abounding with beautiful pastures. In the course of twenty-five days, during which they tarried here, they were alarmed twice by sudden incursions of the natives, who retreated again into the marshes. This induced them to divide themselves into three several parties, in order to scour and examine the adjacent country; but they found nothing more than impervious deserts, and some miserable natives, destitute of every thing. The *casique*, or chief, whom they kept in chains, declared that his town and district was by far the largest in this country, and that the regions beyond were much inferior, both as to soil and number of inhabitants. Notwithstanding this assertion of the *casique*, they came, after a journey of nine days towards the South, to another of their towns, called *Aute*, whose inhabitants

tants were in confederacy with *Apalache*, and abounded in corn and other necessaries, as being nearer to the sea.

THE *Spaniards* being apprized by experience, both of the poverty of these regions, and of the treatment they were to expect from the Savages; who, lurking about their camp, found means to slay their horses, under cover of the night; wearied out with disappointment, resolved to direct their march to the sea-coast; towards which they travelled for eight days, with the utmost hazard and fatigue, being often attacked by the natives from behind the bushes. When they came to *Aute*, a bloody engagement ensued, wherein the *Spaniards* lost some people. Nevertheless they took the place, and found there a vast quantity of maize, pease, gourds, and various fruits. *Cabeca de Vaca*, being sent by *Narvez* to survey the sea-shore, returned three days after with an account that the face of the land was rude and dismal, the bays stretching far within the country, and the sea remote. Afflicting news for the soldiers already too much disheartened. The number of their horses was by this time so much reduced, that they had no longer sufficient to carry the sick; therefore, leaving *Aute*, they moved towards the sea, which was the only resource they had left. Boats were now necessary; and therefore, though in want of all materials, they contrived, by some means or other, to build five by the twentieth of *September*. They twisted ropes out of horse-hair; they made vessels to hold water by sewing hides together; for sails they cut up their shirts; and, after the same manner, got every thing they wanted ready. In the mean while, they were not left undisturbed by the Savages, who destroyed ten of their men.

ACCORDING to their calculation, in coming from the bay of *Santa Cruz*, where they first landed, to this place, they had performed a journey of 280 leagues. Embarking on the twenty-second of *September*, they set sail; and, after having wandered about, without knowing where they were, in the recesses of the bays for seven days, they came to an island divided by a narrow strait from the continent; which they crossed, and, steering along shore, directed their course for the river of *Palms*. Meanwhile, they were terribly

terribly distressed for want of water, saw but few Savages, and supported their miserable beings by fishing. At length, having weathered a promontory that lay in their way, not without great peril, and after losing some of their company by drinking too largely of salt water, they again made for the continent; where, at first, they were very kindly received by the natives, and refreshed with drink and fish; but, being attacked by them in the night, they narrowly escaped from total destruction. The *Indian* chief eloping, and the governor wounded, they fled, in confusion and great precipitation, to their boats. After three days sail from hence, pressed again by the want of fresh water, they put to shore. The inhabitants drew near, and, after a mutual exchange of hostages, they granted the *Spaniards* leave to water. Nevertheless, soon after, they both fiercely redemanded their own people, and detained the *Spaniards* captive. This nation was of a greater stature than what they had hitherto seen, with long loose hair: their kings were richly clothed with martens skins. The station here being but bad for vessels, thinking to avoid extreme danger, they bore a little out to sea; but their boats were soon separated by stress of weather, and each strove to reach what lay next before them. One of them, in which the treasurer *Cabeza de Vaca* was embarked, (to whom we owe this narration) ran aground, and he, with his companions, landed upon an island, as it afterwards was found to be. The inhabitants, about an hundred in number, at first attacked them in a hostile manner; but, being won by presents, they brought them plenty of fish, &c. The *Spaniards*, having now wrecked their boat upon this island, their arms, cloaths, and every thing else, to complete their misfortunes, being swallowed up by the sea, were supplied with provisions by the natives in their cottages, until they themselves began to be in want. The sharpness of hunger conquered humanity, and the famishing *Spaniards* fed upon each others flesh, until, out of eighty people, only fifteen remained. Four of these, *Cabeza de Vaca* being one, after long wanderings and various accidents, too long to insert here, arrived at last in the province of *Mexico*, where the other boats perished; or what fate attended the governor is not known. Such was the third *Spanish* expedition into *Florida*.

*Expedition*



*Expedition of Ferdinand de Soto.*

AFTER these unfortunate events, *Florida* was neglected till the year 1539, when the memorable expedition of *Ferdinand de Soto* took place. This gentleman had served with great reputation under *Francis Pizarro*, in the conquest of *Peru*, which had recommended him so much to the Emperor *Charles V.* that he conferred on him the government of *Cuba*, with the rank of General of *Florida*, and the title of Marquis of the lands which he should conquer therein. Having received his commission from the court of *Spain*, he sailed to the *Havannah*, where he made a short stay, in order to put the affairs of the island under proper regulations, during his absence; and then, imbarcking his forces, set sail on the twelfth of *May*, in the year 1539, with nine vessels, having on board 350 horse, and 900 foot, together with a great number of mariners, and all things necessary for such an expedition. As the season was very fine, and the wind quite fair, they made the coast of *Florida*, to the Northward of the *Gulf of Mexico*, on the 25th of the said month, and came to an anchor in the bay of *Spiritu Sancto*. The whole army was soon disembarked, and, by the help of the tides, the ships were, eight days after, brought up so close to the land, as to moor just under the *Indian* habitations. The army, as they landed, intrenched themselves upon the sea-beach, near the town. After a slight excursion, to take a view of the adjacent country, the general, *Soto*, approached an *Indian* town, which he found quite deserted by the natives, who, as soon as they perceived the ships upon their coast, had every where given the alarm by fires. At break of day, Colonel *Lewis de Moscoso* drew up the army in three lines, with a squadron of horse to each body. In this order they marched, making a circuit round the bay, till they came to a village of the Savages, consisting of about seven or eight houses, near the shore, built of wood, and covered with palm-leaves. On one side was a little lodge, which served for a temple to their idol, placed

over the entrance, in the shape of a bird, made of wood, and gilded over. Some pearls were also found here, but of little value, having been bored by fire, in order to string them for chains and bracelets, to adorn their necks and arms; ornaments in high esteem among these people. This town served the troops for quarters, and the general ordered the ground about it to be cleared, for a pretty good space, both for the sake of having room to exercise his cavalry, and that the *Indians* might not approach without being discovered, if they chose to attack him in the night. Double guards were placed at all the avenues and dangerous places, which were relieved every hour, and the cavalry, ready for action if necessary, rode about and visited them. Here they were unfortunate enough to lose two *Indians* they had taken prisoners, to serve for guides and interpreters, who escaped in the night by the carelessness of those that were set to watch them. This loss was the harder to repair, because the number of marshes and woodlands prevented the horse from pursuing them.

WHILST the *Spaniards* remained here, *Soto* detached several parties to discover the country. One of them, in marching by a morass, about half a league from the camp, fell in with some *Indians*, and took four of them; whereupon the rest turned short upon the *Spaniards*, and, though far inferior in number, drove them back to their camp. These people are so dexterous, so fierce, and so agile, that it is impossible to gain any advantage over them on foot. They fly from those who attack them, but, the moment the enemy retires, they spring upon him. The distance of a bow-shot is the farthest they ever give way; and, when they make their attacks, they are always in constant motion, running from side to side, to prevent the enemy from taking aim. They discharge their arrows with incredible celerity, and so exactly, as very seldom to miss. Their bows are strong, and their arrows made of reeds, heavy, and so keen, that they will pierce a buckler. The extremities of some they arm with a fish-bone as sharp as an awl, of others with a stone as hard as a diamond. One of the parties above mentioned discovered, on a plain two leagues from the camp, ten or twelve *Indians*, among whom was an European, naked and  
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all sun-burnt, having his arms painted with divers colours, in the manner of the *Indians*, from whom he could not, in the least, be distinguished. The Savages dispersed, as soon as the horse attacked them, and threw themselves into a wood, excepting two, who, being wounded, were taken : At the same time, one of the horse-men run with his lance at the European, who cried out, *Gentlemen, I am a Christian, do not kill me, nor these poor people, who have given me life.* Hereupon the *Indians* were called out of the wood, with assurances of having nothing to fear : They were at length prevailed upon to leave it, and all mounting behind the horsemen, this detachment returned again to the camp, where they were received with the universal joy and caresses of the general and the whole army.

HERE I must beg leave to digress a little, in order to inform the reader, what adventure brought the Christian above mentioned into the hands of the *Indians*.

THIS man, whose name was *John Ortiz*, was a native of *Seville*, and born of a noble family. He had served in the expedition under *Narvez*, about twelve years before, and had the good fortune to escape back again to *Cuba*. Hence he returned to *Florida*, in a brigantine, by the desire of the Lady of *Narvez*, in quest of her husband. At his arrival upon this coast, meeting with some *Indians*, who pretended to have a letter for him from *Narvez*, he and another were rash enough to land, at their invitation, in opposition to the advice of the people on board. The *Indians* immediately surrounded them, killed his companion, who offered to make resistance, and carried off *Ortiz* to their chief, called *Ucita*, none on board daring to land, to give him any assistance. The *Indian* sentenced him to be burnt alive, which had surely been his fate, but that a sudden emotion of pity touched the heart of *Ucita's* daughter, who prevailed upon her father to give him his life. *Ortiz* was then set to guard the temple above mentioned from the wolves, which often came to carry off the bodies that were laid there. It happened, that these animals seized the body of the son of an *Indian* of considerable rank : *Ortiz* pursued them, and had the good fortune to kill

one of the wolves, and recover the carcase. This action endeared him to *Ucita*, who began to treat him more kindly. Three years passed thus, when an *Indian* chief, called *Mocofo*, attacked *Ucita*, burnt his village, and forced him to fly to another place he had by the sea-shore. These wild people have a custom of sacrificing the lives of strangers that fall into their hands to evil spirits, whom they suppose to be pleased with such victims. This fate *Ucita* destined *Ortiz* to; but the same girl, who had saved him from the fire, counselled him to fly to *Mocofo*, who, she said, would treat him well, and wanted to see him. As he was unacquainted with the way, she put him into the road, and returned unperceived herself. *Ortiz* travelled till he came to a rivulet on the frontier of the dominions of *Mocofo*, where he found two *Indians* fishing. As these people were at war with those he came from, he was apprehensive they would treat him as an enemy, and the more so, because he was unable to explain his design, and what brought him thither to them, neither understanding the language of the other; to prevent this, he ran to the place where their arms lay, and instantly seized them. The *Indians*, alarmed, flew immediately to the town, whence their cries presently brought numbers of *Indians*, who surrounded *Ortiz*, and were upon the point of killing him, in vain crying out that *He was the Christian of Ucita*; when, providentially, an *Indian* joined them who happened to understand his language, and appeased his companions by explaining the words of *Ortiz* to them. Upon this four of the Savages were sent off with the news to *Mocofo*, who received *Ortiz* very cordially, and promised, if any Christians should arrive in that country, he would give him leave to retire with them. Among these *Indians*, *Ortiz* resided for the course of twelve years, and had long despaired of ever seeing another *European*, when *Mocofo* informed him that the Christians had made a descent at the town of *Ucita*. *Ortiz*, at first, showed a difficulty of believing him; but the Cassique seriously insisted upon the truth of this intelligence, and permitted him to go to join them; adding, that, if he did not, he must blame himself alone, when the Christians were gone, since the promise made to him had been performed. *Ortiz* thanked the *Indian* in the gratefulest terms, who, at his departure, sent several of his

people to escort him; and these were they, whom the above-mentioned party, from *Soto's* army, met.

AT his arrival in the camp, the General presented him with cloaths, arms, and a good horse; asking him, at the same time, whether he had no knowledge of any part of this country that abounded with gold or silver mines. *Ortiz* answered, that he had penetrated only a little way farther than the habitation of *Mocofo*, but that, at thirty leagues distance from his town, dwelt *Paracoxi*, the most puissant prince of these regions, to whom all the other chiefs were tributary, and that he could give him satisfactory light concerning what was enquired after; moreover, that his country was very fertile, and abounded with all the provisions of life. This intelligence was highly pleasing to *Soto*, who looked upon it as certain, that, in traversing so great an extent of land, he must, of course, find some part of it very rich.

A FEW days after, *Mocofo* paid the *Spaniards* a visit, when, in a handsome speech, he welcomed the general, and offered him his services. *Soto* received him with suitable returns of civility, and made him some small presents; after which he took his leave, and went back to his habitation highly satisfied.

*Soto* immediately dispatched *Balthazar de Gallegos*, at the head of about thirty men, into the province of *Paracoxi*, to gain information of what *Florida* farther afforded. At their arrival here, they found the casique had retired out of the town, but sent thirty *Indians*, to enquire what they sought in his country, and wherein he could be of service to them? *Gallegos* thanked him for his civility, and testified his inclination to confirm a sincere and lasting friendship with him; for the sake of doing which, he desired him to return to his habitation. The *Indian* answered by messengers, that he was indisposed, which prevented him from coming. *Gallegos* demanded, if they knew any province that produced gold or silver? They answered, he would find one to the West, called *Cale*, which was at war with a neighbouring district, where the Spring bloomed throughout the year, and gold was so plenty, that  
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the people marched against those of *Cale* with helmets made of this metal on their heads. But the *Spanish* officer suspecting they only made pretences, for the sake of gaining time, till they could betake themselves to some place of security; and fearing, if he suffered the *Inaian* messengers to depart, they would not return again, put them in irons, and sent to acquaint *Soto* of his proceedings; upon which the general, leaving a proper number of men to guard the port, marched with all the rest, joined *Gallegos*, and, without delay, set onward to *Cale*. He found, in his way, some small villages, and took an *Indian* for his guide, who conducted them to the banks of a very rapid river. Having passed this with some difficulty, *Soto*, who had headed the advanced guard, sent to hasten the main body; because the journey was long, and he was apprehensive that provision might fail them. At length, he arrived at *Cale*, but found the town deserted. Here he halted for the rest of the army, now extremely fatigued with hunger and bad ways; for the ground was poor, marshy in many places, or covered with thick woods. All their provisions were consumed, so that they were obliged to feed upon beet leaves, thistles, and maize, which they devoured stalk and all; so outrageous was hunger grown. But the horsemen *Soto* had sent back to them, brought the comforting news, that there was plenty of maize at *Cale*; all that was ripe of it the general ordered to be cut down, and a store was laid up, sufficient for three months. One of the *Indians* who were taken informed *Soto*, that, seven leagues beyond this town, there was a province very large and fertile in maize, which was called *Palache*. Whereupon, he set off immediately from *Cale*, with a body of horse and foot, leaving Co'onel *Lewis de Moscoso* to command the rest, with express orders not to decamp, unless he should receive a command to do so under his hand.

Don *Ferdinand de Soto* left *Cale* on the eleventh day of *August* 1540, and lay first at *Hara*, next at *Potano*, then at *Utimama*, and, on the fourth day, at a place called, by the *Spaniards*, *Malapaz*. Hence he came to a place called *Cholupaba*; and, after two days journey through a desert country, he arrived at *Caliquen*. Here it was intimated to *Soto*, as he was inquiring concerning the province of *Palache*,  
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that *Narvez* had not penetrated into the country beyond where they now were, being unable to find either path or habitations : That it was more eligible to abandon *Florida*, and return, than run the risk of perishing by the Savages, or hunger, in those desolate regions. But the general paid no regard to such remonstrances : On the reverse, he ordered all to hold themselves ready to march, and sent orders for *Moscoso* to join him with the utmost expedition. This was immediately done, though the troops suffered much, in passing through a country entirely laid waste by the general, in his passage through it.

*Soto* marched from *Caliquen*, with the whole army, on the 20th of *September*, taking the cassique away with him. In five days he arrived at *Napetaca*, during which the *Indians* several times applied to him, praying that their chief might be set at liberty. To whom he answered, that he did not intend to detain him by force longer, than till he should arrive in the dominions of *Uzacbil*, a chief who was related to the cassique of *Caliquen*. Meanwhile, *John Ortiz* learned from an *Indian*, that they had resolved to assemble and attack the army, in order to set their chief at liberty by force. The general, being apprized of this, ordered all the infantry and cavalry to arm, and to remain so prepared in their quarters, not to give the *Indians* any suspicion, who, to the number of 400, in arms, were posted in a wood a little way from the camp. Thus stationed, they sent two men to demand their cassique of the governor ; who, taking him by the hand, and talking to him, the better to satisfy the *Indians*, advanced near the place where they had posted themselves ; but, observing them to be preparing for battle, he commanded an alarm to be sounded ; at which all the *Spaniards* rushed out with such fury, that the *Indians*, surprised and thrown into confusion, thought only of flight. Forty of them were killed on the spot by the spear, and the rest threw themselves into two neighbouring lakes, where the *Spaniards* fired upon them, as they were swimming, though to little effect. *Soto*, not having people enough for both, surrounded only one of the lakes, out of which the *Indians* endeavoured to escape by swimming softly to the banks in the night, covering their heads with water-

water-lilies; but the horse, perceiving the water to be put in motion, pushed up to the belly in the lake, and drove them back again. A great part of the night having thus passed, without any repose on either side, *Ortiz* called out to them to submit to the governor, since there was no possibility of escaping: Which they, at last, agreed to do, compelled by the severe cold they felt in the water. They all surrendered except about twelve, who resolutely determined rather to die in the lake; but the *Indians* of *Paracoxi* threw themselves in, dragged them out by the hair, and they were immediately chained together. All the rest were divided amongst the *Spaniards*, to serve as slaves. The misery of this slavery was so intolerable to those Savages, that they resolved to free themselves from it; and, for that end, one of them, who acted as interpreter, undertook to strangle the general, whilst he was talking with him, by throwing both hands at once suddenly upon his neck; but, in the instant of attempting it, *Soto* struck the *Indian* upon the face so furiously, as, in a moment, to cover it over with blood. All the *Indians* were roused at this signal, and a terrible battle ensued; each Savage using, for a weapon, the club with which they bruised the maize, or the sword or lances of their masters, that happened to lie near them, and managed them with as much dexterity as the *Spaniards* themselves could do; till, at last, after having given wonderful proof of valour and intrepidity, they were overpowered by numbers, and the whole body, consisting of about two hundred, taken; several of whom were fastened to stakes, and shot to death by the arrows of the *Paracoxi Indians*.

FROM *Napetaca* they marched, on the twenty-third of *September*, and soon arrived at *Uzachil*, which had been abandoned by its inhabitants, upon the rumour of the slaughter made at the fore-mentioned place. Great quantities of maize, pulse, and cucumbers, were found in the town. The first was as fine as miller, and the last better than those of *Spain*. The parties, also, that were detached to scour the country, picked up about 100 *Indians*, who were divided among the soldiery, to be used for carrying of baggage, peeling of maize, and other servile offices, in which the  
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chain they were fastened with, by the neck, did not much hinder them. As for the women and children, they were suffered to go unchained, whenever they had come sixty, or a hundred miles, from their respective homes. These were very serviceable, and learned Spanish in a little time.

THE general now quitted Uzachil, to go to Palache, and, on the second day, arrived at *Axille*, where the inhabitants did not wait to receive him, but retired to a neighbouring wood. He left this place the next day, being the first of *October*; and, having thrown a bridge over a river that lay across his road, was preparing to pass it with his troops, when the *Indians* presented themselves on the other side, to dispute the passage; upon which, *Soto* commanded the cross-bow men to advance, who forced them to retire. The whole army then passed over, and arrived, that evening, at *Vitachuco*, a town, in the province of *Palache*, which the *Indians* had set fire to, and the flames were not yet extinguished, when they entered it. This province is well peopled, and fruitful in maize: houses and villages appeared on every side, till they came to *Ankayca de Palache*, the residence of the cassique, who commanded the whole province. The *Spanish* forces were quartered round the town, at a small distance from which were other villages, whence they drew great quantities of maize, cucumbers, beans, and dried plumbs, better than those of *Spain*. The trees which bear these plumbs grow spontaneously all over the country.

Soto, who knew that the sea was not more than ten leagues distant, sent out a party of horse and foot, who, passing by *Ocheta*, six leagues from their quarters, came to the sea-side: They conjectured, from the bones of horses and other vestiges, that *Narvez* had, there, constructed those barks in which he was shipwrecked. As soon as the governor was informed of this, he sent *Danbusco*, at the head of thirty horsemen, with orders for the party left at *Babia del Espiritu Santo*, to set out directly for *Palache*. *Danbusco* marched with all the secrecy possible, that he might not alarm the *Indians*, who were now returned to their towns, which the *Spaniards* had passed through; and thus, in no more than six

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days, he arrived at the port. Here he embarked with all the foot, and rowed along the coast, till he came to *Palache*, which was not till the twenty-fifth of *December*. The horse returned with the party that were sent for by the general.

Soto, having determined to discover the country on the Western coast, ordered *Maldonado*, with a small body of infantry, to march by the shore, and to make himself acquainted with the harbours, if any, thereon. While these things were doing, many small skirmishes happened between the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, with various success, until the time that *Maldonado* returned, who brought with him a native of a province called *Ochuse*, sixty leagues from *Palache*. He had found there a harbour of good depth, and well sheltered, which was very pleasing to the governor, as he had hopes of discovering, on this coast, some country rich in gold. The better to accomplish this end, he dispatched *Maldonado* for warlike implements, to the *Havana*, with orders to meet him at the port of *Ochuse*, whither he intended to go by land; having determined to undertake nothing of consequence, before he should have visited that place.

Just after *Maldonado* was gone, it happened that a young *Indian* was brought before the governor, who had been taken at *Nape-taca*: He assured him, that it was not from the country above-mentioned, but from his own, called *Yupaba*, far distant, on the Eastern coast, that he must seek for gold; describing the manner likewise so minutely in which gold was extracted from the ore, melted, and refined, that all those in the army, who had been conversant with the working of mines, declared to *Soto*, that it was impossible for him to speak so justly concerning this business, unless he had seen it done himself: And thus this relation of this *Indian* passed for indubitable truth. Therefore, with minds filled with the ideal riches of *Yupaba*, the *Spaniards* left *Palache* on the third of *March*.

THE general ordered every man to take provision with him for sixty leagues of desert, which they were obliged to carry themselves,

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as the *Indian* prisoners had, for the most part, perished through the winter's fatigue. After four days march, they came to a river, over which the army passed, by the assistance of a large canoe, that enabled them to fasten a great rope across, and, by these means, to stem the rapidity of the stream, holding that as they went. This business cost them the labour of a day and a half; at last, on the eleventh of *March*, they arrived at *Capachiqui*. The *Indians* were every where in arms, falling at times upon the *Spaniards* that straggled, or were detached to get wood, &c. and, when pursued by *Soto's* horse, they threw themselves into the marshes where they were unassailable. The general left this place, and arrived at *Toalli* on the twenty-first day of the month. The houses here appeared very different from any hitherto seen by the *Spaniards* in *Florida*: They were covered with reeds ranged like tiles, very neatly. The walls were made of poles, intersecting each other so artfully, as to seem built of stone and mortar. They light large fires in their houses during the night, which make them so warm, though the climate is rather cold, that they want no covering. The granaries wherein they lay up their corn are raised upon four posts, with a floor made of reeds. These people, in their dress and building, are more civilized than the rest of the *Floridans*. The deer-skins, which they make use of for cloathing, are dyed of an excellent scarlet, and they weave a fine kind of linen out of the most tender inside bark of a certain tree.

THEY marched from *Toalli* on the twenty-third of *March*, and approached the town of *Achese*, the inhabitants of which retired on their approach; but, their cassique being sent for by them, appeared, and addressed himself to the general in a handsome speech, desiring to know what he looked for in their country, and wherein he could be of service. *Soto* thanked him for his civility, told him, that he was the son of the sun, and that he had left the place of his abode, to seek the greatest lord, and the richest province, which was in that country. The cassique gave him guides, and an interpreter, to lead the army to a district called *Ocuta*: This civil behaviour so pleased the general, that he set all the prisoners he had taken in his dominions at liberty. Just before his

departure, *Soto* set up a wooden cross in the town, and only told the *Indians*, that this sign was erected in memory of *Jesus Christ*, who had suffered to save us : That he was both God and man, and had created the heaven and earth ; and that, therefore, they must look up to that token with profound respect : Which they promised to do.

ON the twenty-fourth of *April*, the troops arrived at *Altaraca*, and, on the tenth, at *Ocuté*. The cassique of this place sent 2000 *Indians* to the governor, with several presents, and, among the rest, many dogs, the flesh of which, for want of other meat, was as much esteemed in the army as mutton. The *Indians* are not reduced to such straits ; for, with their bows and arrows, and by the help of many engines and inventions, of which the *Spaniards* had no knowledge, they kill and take plenty of all sorts of game. But, even if they had, neither time nor circumstance permitted the soldiers to pursue it.

THE governor left *Ocuté* on the twelfth of *April*, after the cassique had given him 400 *Indians* for service. The army marched then to *Cofaqui*, and thence to *Patofa*. The chief of which last district, hearing of *Soto's* approach, came to see him, and desired his friendship in a set speech, which was answered in the most obliging manner.

THE face of the country, from *Ocuté* to *Patofa*, for the space of fifty miles, is very beautiful ; the soil rich, and finely watered with many rivers, and the people of a sweet and amiable temper ; but, from the *Babia del Espiritu Santo* to the former place, it is low, sandy, marshy, or covered with high bushes ; whence the fierce and warlike inhabitants rush out, or where they retire to, and are secured against all assaults of horse or foot.

*Soto* being upon the point of leaving *Patofa*, the *Indians* of that country insisted, contrary to the assertion of the young *Tupaban* above-mentioned, that they had no knowledge of any region to the Eastward ; but that, to the North-west, there was a very  
fertile,

fertile, and well-peopled province, named *Coca*. Nevertheless, the cassique left it at *Soto's* discretion to take his people, whom he gave him for guides, either way he should chuse. After having interchanged marks of reciprocal affection with this good cassique, the general began his march, which continued four days, through a road that grew still narrower, and at last disappeared, the *Yupahan Indian* leading the way. The fatigue of this journey was much increased, by having some large and rapid rivers to cross. These difficulties so heightened the general's vexation, that he threatened to cast the young *Indian* to the dogs, for his treachery in thus deceiving him; the army having been on the march for nine days, and provisions growing very short, both for men and horses. The *Indian* confessed he knew not where he was; and this confession would have cost him his life, but that he was the only one of the *Floridans* who could make himself understood by *John Ortiz*. The general himself, attended by a few soldiers, made an excursion in search of a road, but returned at night, quite disconcerted, not having been able to discover the least track of a way, or trace of a human habitation.

THE next day, a council was held, to determine whether they should return or proceed. They were deterred from returning, when they considered that the country behind them was quite exhausted of provision, their own almost consumed, and both men and horses so enfeebled, that it was doubtful whether they would be able to reach any place of refreshment. Moreover, the *Indians* most probably, taking advantage of their disorder, might fall upon them. The general, therefore, resolved to send out several parties, in different directions, to seek for some inhabited spot; but they returned, almost tired to death, without any success. The next day, *Soto* appointed four commanders for this work, whose courage and sagacity he was well assured of. Their names were *Gallegos*, who marched up along the side of a neighbouring river towards its source; *Danbusco*, who followed the course of the same river, downward; *Romo*, and *Labbilo*, who advanced different ways into the country. In the mean time, the soldiers were allowed only half a pound of flesh each day, and owed even this to *Soto's* having brought  
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several swine with him into *Florida*, which produced a great number of pigs. As to the *Indians* of *Patofa*, they were dismissed when provisions began to fall short, though these poor people showed an extreme desire of serving the Christians, and much regret at leaving them in this distress.

DANHUSCO returned soon after, with an account that he had discovered a town, about twelve leagues off; news that revived the dying spirits of the whole army, which decamped on the twenty-sixth of *April*, in quest of this place, where the general, with the best mounted, arrived the next day, leaving the rest to follow as fast as they could. They found in this town, called by the *Indians* *Aymay*, a granary full of maize, and took four of the inhabitants; one of whom, being compelled by threats of instant death in case of denial, confessed that another town lay at no very great distance, called *Catifachiqui*. Thither the general hastened, and seized three *Indians* on the road, who told him that a lady held the sovereignty of this country. Upon which the general sent to offer her his friendship, and she, in return, sent her sister to bid him welcome; and, soon after, appeared herself in a canoe, which had an awning in the poop, supported by a lance, under which the female cassique sat upon two cushions, accompanied with a number of *Indian* women, her attendants, and many other canoes. Thus equipped, she came to the bank where *Soto* waited to receive her, and addressed him in a handsome speech. After which she made him many presents; among the rest, a pearl necklace, the beads of which were of a great size; and, during his stay in her town, sent him every day a quantity of fowls.

THIS country is very pleasant, fertile, and watered with many rivers, and no more than two days journey from the sea, as the natives declared. There is not much thicket, but plenty of nut and mulberry trees. The people are tawney, well made, and more polished than any they had hitherto seen in *Florida*. They all wore cloaths and drawers in their manner. The young *Indian* so often mentioned told the governor that they had now begun to enter into the rich country he spoke of; and, as he understood the language,

*Soto*

*Soto* suffered himself to be so persuaded, and, at his request, permitted him to be baptized, by the name of *Pedro*, loosing him from the chain which he had dragged all the way hither. All the troops were of opinion that this was the proper situation for them to settle, it being so advantageous a port for all the ships from *New Spain*, *Peru*, *St. Martha*, and the main, to carry on their traffick in, as it lay in their road to *Old Spain*; that the land was good, and commerce might be there established with great profit. But the general, who had nothing less in his head than the treasure of *Atabilipa*, and hoped to find a like mass of gold, could not be prevailed upon, by the pressing intreaties of all his people, to fix here. He replied, that the country was not capable of supplying them with provision, at present, for one month; and, were it otherwise, he was indispensably obliged to march to *Ochuse*, where he had appointed *Maldonado* to wait for him: That, at worst, they might any time return to this country, which they would then find sown for another crop by the *Indians*. In fine, he had been informed, that there was, at the distance of twelve days journey from *Catibachiqui*, a province called *Chiaba*, whither he resolved to march: And, being (although he was willing to attend to every other opinion first) a man utterly inflexible and peremptory, when he had once fixed his own, no one, notwithstanding he was guilty of great error of judgment in quitting this district, would venture to oppose him.

ON the third of *May*, the *Spaniards* left *Catibachiqui*, at which time a coldness arose on the part of the female cassique, who had even a design to make off with her *Indians*, without leaving the army any for guides, or to carry the baggage, owing to the misbehaviour of some of the *Spaniards* to her people. For the sake of preventing this evil, the governor put the cassique under an arrest, and treated her in a manner unworthy of the kindness she had testified before, to him and his forces, obliging her to travel on foot with her attendants. Nevertheless, to ingratiate herself into his favour, she ordered her *Indians* to carry the baggage, and her commands were every where obeyed with wonderful alacrity.\* For seven days, they marched through a wretched country to *Chalague*,  
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the chief of which district sent two deer-skins to *Soto*, by way of present, at his arrival. This province afforded so little, that the army left it in a few days, though both men and horses were extremely fatigued.

THE distance between *Ocuté* and *Catífachiqui* is reckoned to be about 130 miles, eighty of which are desert; and from the latter to *Xualla*, about 250 miles of mountainous country. During our march thither, the female cassique eloped, and concealed herself so well in a wood near the road, that the *Spaniards* could never find her. This was a matter of great vexation to the general, because he had a design to carry her to *Quaxule*, where the territories of the cassiques, that did her homage, end. She had also taken with her a casket made of reeds, containing pearls of great value. They learned, afterwards, that she was at *Xualla*, with an *Indian* man that ran off with her, and who cohabited with her as a husband; and that both had resolved not to return to the *Spaniards* again, but to go back to *Catífachiqui*.

IN five days time, the army arrived at *Quaxulla*; which province, like the rest of this country, is but ill provided with maize: The general was, therefore, obliged to send an *Indian* to the cassique of *Chiaba*, desiring him to collect a quantity of maize in his country for the use of the army, which designed to refresh there for a few days. Two days after, in the way to *Cunasaqua*, *Soto* found twenty *Indians*, each laden with a panier of mulberries, which they presented to him. Through the whole extent between this district and *Catífachiqui*, great quantities of mulberry, nut, and plumb trees, grow, and bear, without culture, as fine fruit as those which are reared with care in our gardens.

AFTER five days march from this place, through a desert, fifteen *Indians* met the governor, near *Chiaba*, with a large quantity of maize from the cassique; who acquainted him that there was much more at his service, together with himself, his people, and country. The general, in return, assured him of his gratitude and affection. The *Spaniards* found here lard, which the natives said was bears-fat,

fat, and likewise some honey, the first they had seen in *Florida*; having, before, never observed any bees there.

THE town was situated upon the bank of a river, which, dividing itself into two branches, formed a little island, somewhat more than a mile long, and two bow-shots across. The land, on each side, was sown with rice. The army encamped round the town, under trees, at a distance from each other, and without order. This irregularity was suffered by the general, in consideration of the fatigue which both the men and horses had undergone, for some time past, without having had leisure to refresh themselves. And, indeed, it was well for the *Spaniards* that these *Indians* were a pacific people, they being, at present, in a very bad condition for defending themselves: But, as every thing spoke peace, the soldiers let their horses graze, during the night, in the meadows near the camp, where, the pasturage being admirably good, soon made them grow very plump.

THE general allowed the army thirty days, to repose themselves here; at the end of which, he was rashly prevailed upon to desire, of the cassique, thirty *Indians*, to carry the baggage. The cassique replied, that he would propose the thing to the principal *Indians*; but, before he could return an answer, the inhabitants, and all their families, fled. The general would have pursued them, had not the cassique presented himself before him, and, in a pathetick manner, accused his people for their disobedience; offering his own service, to assist him as a guide, in seeking them, and bringing them back to their duty. The general, upon this, set out, at the head of sixty men, horse and foot, and was conducted to an island, formed by the river to which those people had retired, to avoid the attack of the cavalry. An *Indian* was sent to tell them, they might return, without danger, to their habitations, since nothing was demanded of them, but some few of their number to carry the baggage. The *Indians* agreed to this condition, and returned home.

WHILE these things were transacting, the cassique of *Acoste* came to offer his service to *Soto*, who enquired of him, whether he knew  
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of any rich or fertile country? He answered, that, more to the North, there lay the province of *Chisca*, where copper was found, and another metal purer and livelier, which, though more beautiful than the former, was yet not much used, because it was softer. Charmed with this relation, *Soto* determined to make for *Chisca*: But, being informed that mountains interposed, craggy, and impenetrable to cavalry, he thought of avoiding the direct road, and to pass some way about, if possible, through a peopled country, where both men and horses might find better subsistence, and he more perfect intelligence. To accomplish this the easier, he dispatched two *Spaniards* to *Chisca*, with an interpreter, and some *Indians* acquainted with the country, who were to meet him at an appointed place.

*Soto* now took leave of the cassique of *Chiaba*; and, having made him some presents, with which he was greatly pleased, marched for *Acofte*, where he arrived on the twelfth of *July*; and, having pitched his camp at a small distance from the town, entered it himself with eight guards. The cassique received him with much civility; but, as they were conversing, a few *Spanish* soldiers entered the town, in quest of maize; and, not finding any to their liking, they began to ransack for it in the houses; which so provoked the *Indians*, that they fell upon the soldiers with clubs, and beat them severely. *Soto* saw his danger; the natives were enraged, and his person in their hands: On this occasion, therefore, he deigned to dissemble, though very disagreeable to his nature; and, snatching up a stick, ran, immediately, and assisted the *Indians* to beat the *Spaniards*; dispatching, at the same instant, a man to the camp, with orders for the horse to advance, well armed. Then, taking the hand of the cassique very affectionately, he drew him, insensibly, while conversing, into a path in sight of the army; during which, the horse, advancing in file, surrounded, and carried both him and his *Indians* into the camp; where the general confined them, and declared they should not regain their liberty, until they had furnished the army with guides, and those *Spaniards*, who were sent to *Chisca*, should have returned in safety.

THREE days after, they returned, with news that the way, wherein the *Indians* conducted them, as the best, was so miserably rugged, and the country so barren, that no army could possibly march through it; and, therefore, seeing it would be to no purpose to proceed, they had resolved to turn back again. Upon this intelligence, the army quitted *Acosse*, and marched to *Tali*, and the cassique having furnished them with guides, was set at liberty. They arrived at the last mentioned place on the ninth of *July*; the cassique of which received them kindly, and allowed them some *Indians* to carry the baggage. For six days, they marched over the lands of the cassique of *Cosa*, at which place they arrived on the sixteenth of *July*. This chief, sitting upon a litter, carried on the shoulders of his most considerable subjects, came out of the town to meet the general. His robe was made of martins skins: He wore upon his head a kind of diadem, made of feathers; and, as he advanced, several *Indians* sang round him, playing, at the same time, upon instruments. He addressed himself very civilly to the general, who thanked him; and they entered the town together with great joy. The cassique complimented the general and army with the use of the houses of the town, and the granaries, in which were plenty of maize, beans, &c. The country was so well peopled, that the towns seemed to be planted amidst the corn-fields. The many rivulets, that water the land, contribute greatly to its beauty, making fine pasturage; and their banks are cloathed with vines, that climb up to the tops of the trees, among which plenty are found that bear the *Spanish* plumbs, as well as those peculiar to the country.

HITHERTO *Soto* had been accustomed to set a guard upon the *Indian* princes, and still to carry one with him, until he entered the territories of another; making use of the natives, that chose to follow their chiefs, for the service of the army, and dismissing them all when he came to a different province: But the *Indians* of *Cosa* were not so tractable. Unable to bear the thought of seeing their chief in confinement, they all fled to the woods; and it was not without some conflicts, and much severity, that *Soto* humbled them

so far as, at the intercession of their own cassique, to submit to the doing of the *Spanish* drudgery.

Soto left *Cesú* on the twentieth of *August*, and marched, first to *Tallimuchase*, and thence to *Itava*, where he was obliged to wait a few days, for the decrease of water in a river, which had overflowed its banks. He then continued his march to *Ulliballi*, where, from the hostile appearance of the natives, he imagined they had bad designs. This was sufficient to keep him upon his guard during the time he staid in their town, which was situated on a rivulet, and pallisadoed about. On the other side of the stream, dwelt the cassique, who, being sent for by *Soto*, came, without resistance, and granted him several male and female *Indians* for service.

THE *Spaniards* marched hence to *Toasi*, proceeding at the rate of about five or six leagues a-day, when in a peopled country, but with all expedition possible, when traversing a desert. From *Toasi*, in five days, they came to *Tallise*, a large town, with a well-cultivated country about it. In this place *Soto* dismissed the cassique of *Cosa*, and took what *Indians* he wanted at *Tallise*. After reposing here twenty days, he set out, with the army, for *Tascaluca*, where he encamped in a wood, near the residence of the cassique, and sent *Lewis de Moscoso* to give him notice of his arrival; who found the cassique in a balcony before his house, upon cushions, placed on a carpet, and surrounded by *Indians*, at a little distance from him: The most considerable of whom stood nearest to him, and one of them held an umbrella, made of deer-skin, over his head, to defend him from the sun, about the size of a target, and so beautifully coloured, that, at a distance, it looked like taffety. This cassique had rendered himself very terrible to his neighbours, and his dominions extended very wide, and over well-peopled countries. He was of a great stature, strongly built, and finely proportioned. As soon as *Moscoso* had made his address to him, all the horsemen, who attended, made several passadoes to and fro, pushing sometimes almost to where the cassique was sitting. He observed them with a fixed gravity. Meanwhile, the general arrived; and, seeing the cassique made no motion to meet him, went up, and took him by the



the hand, and both then sat down together upon the bench, on the balcony, where the cassique addressed *Soto* in a set speech, and offered his services. The general thanked him, and gave him to understand, that he should be under a necessity to take him with him.

AFTER two days march from this place, the army came to *Piaché*, a town situated upon a large river, over which they passed by the help of rafts, made of reeds. Soon after, a *Spaniard*, pursuing an *Indian* woman, who had eloped into a wood, was killed, or taken by the *Indians*: Upon which, the general threatened the cassique with perpetual loss of liberty, if the *Spaniard* was not produced. He, alarmed at this, sent to *Maville*, a large *Indian* town in their road, under pretence of ordering them to prepare necessaries for the army; but, in reality, the purport of this message was, to order the cassique of that place, who was his vassal, to assemble all the *Indians*, in order to fall unexpectedly upon the *Spaniard*. *Soto*, with the advanced guard, arrived at *Maville* on the eighteenth of *October*, where he met a soldier, that he had sent to observe the motions of the *Indians*, who informed him, that some bad design seemed to be on foot, because he had seen a great number of the natives enter the town in arms, and that they laboured very hard to strengthen the palisade made about it. *Soto*, however, could not be persuaded to incamp, but resolved to enter the town; where he was received, by the cassique, with the sound of instruments. Eight of his guards, and a few horsemen, attended him on foot. As soon as he had seated himself on a balcony, the cassique of *Tascaluca* endeavoured to persuade him to proceed no farther; but, perceiving he was not likely to succeed therein, nor to withdraw himself from confinement, he retired to a house where many of the natives were assembled, and would not return, though the general sent for him several times; but, at length, fiercely answered, that he would not quit the place where he was, nor proceed any farther: That he advised *Soto* to go, while he might, in peace, and not presume to think of carrying him forcibly out of his dominions.

THE general perceived, by the haughty behaviour of the *Indian* chief, that he had forces at hand, and, therefore, resolved to see  
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what civility would do, and whether he could soothe him into compliance: But the *Indian* turned from him, with a proud and contemptuous air, nor would, afterwards, either see, or speak to him, nor hearken to any proposition from him. In this strait, *Soto* called to an *Indian* of some consequence, that happened to pass by, and desired him to acquaint the *cassique*, that he was quite at liberty to depart, provided he would grant him a guide, and some *Indians* for service: But, this man refusing to take the message, a *Spanish* officer, standing by, seized him by the cloak, upon which a struggle ensued, when the enraged *Spaniard* laid him dead upon the spot. This action roused the *Indians*; and out they all rushed from their houses, sending great flights of arrows at the general and his people.

*Soto* was sensible how vain it would be to resist, and, therefore, determined to fly for it; in doing which, himself and the rest were wounded, and five out of the number slain. The *Indians* drove furiously on, beating down with their arrows all that stood in their way, and took their countrymen that carried the baggage, and conveyed it into the town; releasing the *Indian* prisoners, they armed them with bows, to fight against the *Spaniards*, all whose equipages, together with many valuable pearls, and all the arms which the soldiers had left with the baggage, fell into their hands.

*Soto*, in the moment he saw himself out of danger, wheeled round, and charged, at the head of some cavalry; and, having slain three of them at push of pike, drove the rest behind the pallisade. It happened that a monk, a secular ecclesiastick, and a servant of *Soto*, were left in the town, and they barricaded the door of the house they were in, to make the best defence in their power. The *Indians*, seeing the door so well defended, were mounting to the roof, in order to uncover it, and to destroy the *Spaniards* within with arrows, when the whole army arrived before *Maville*. Here they held a consultation, to determine whether they should storm the town, or only besiege it, as the attack would prove very dangerous: But, the former method being resolved upon, *Soto* ordered all the best armed to dismount, and, having

ving formed them into four battalions, marched directly to the gates of the town. The *Indians*, resolving to die rather than turn their backs, with much intreaty, prevailed upon the cassique to retire, and take with him all that was found most valuable among the baggage of the *Spaniards*. The governor being apprized that *Indians* were seen flying out of the town, surrounded it on all sides, in order to set it every where on fire, and oblige the inhabitants to fight in the open field. The signal was then given to engage, and a horrible carnage ensued at the entrance of the gates; for, the *Indians* behaved so bravely, that they repulsed the *Spaniards* several times. However, the monk and clerk, above-mentioned, were rescued, though at the expence of the lives of two brave soldiers, who ran first to their assistance. The fight lasted so long, that the *Spaniards*, being quite faint with toil and thirst, retired to drink at a pool, close to the pallisades, where they swallowed almost as much blood as water. They then returned, and made so furious a charge upon the *Indians*, as put them in such disorder, that the general, with his horse, broke into the town, and the soldiers set fire to the houses. The miserable inhabitants, every where beset, both within and without, urged by despair, fought hand and hand with the *Spaniards*, but with great disadvantage; the latter mowing them down so furiously with their broad swords, that multitudes threw themselves into the flames, and were consumed to ashes. 2,500 *Indians* perished, on this occasion, by fire and sword. Of the *Spaniards* were lost eighteen, together with all the baggage, cloaths, pearls, and valuable ornaments of the army, all which were entirely destroyed in the fire, being forgotten in their ardour to accomplish this enterprize, though the success of it could hardly recompense such loss.

UPON this account, *Soto*, though he had learned that *Maldonado* was at *Ochuse*, seven days journey distant, forbid *Ortiz* to publish the news in the army; having determined, since he had lost the most valuable of his acquisitions, to give no intelligence concerning himself, until he should have led his people into some rich country, that would pay them for their disappointments.

ON the eighteenth of *November*, therefore, after staying a month in this fertile country for the sake of the wounded, the governor broke up his camp, and marched, through a desert region, into the province of *Pafellaya*; in passing through which, they were stopped by a river, lined with *Indians* on the opposite shore: However, by the help of a boat, which they made in four days time, *Soto* sent over thirty men, armed, who, notwithstanding the threats of the *Indians*, landed; which so terrified the Savages, that they instantly retired to the cover of the reedy marshes. The whole army then crossed it, and found towns, on the other side, stored with maize, beans, &c. From hence, marching five days through a desert, another river occurred, where the *Indians*, once more, stood ready to dispute the passage: But *Soto*, chusing to avoid an engagement, sent an *Indian* to demand peace of their cassique. Instead of granting which, they slew his messenger, and retired, setting up loud cries. The passage being thus free, the army came to *Chicoca* on the eighteenth of *December*, where the governor was obliged to winter, the cold growing too severe for the army to proceed.

THIS was a fine fertile country. One of the *Indians* they took here persuaded the general, to send for the cassique in a friendly manner; who came, accordingly, and offered his services and subjects to *Soto*, bringing with him two other *Indian* chiefs, who presented the general with a great number of mantles and skins. He of *Chicoca* came frequently to visit *Soto*, who lent him a horse for that purpose.

THIS *Indian* complained much to him of one of his vassals, and begged assistance to punish his revolt; which was accordingly granted, to the number of thirty horse, and eighty foot. These being joined by two hundred *Indians*, *Soto* accompanied the cassique to *Saquechuma*, the residence of the rebel chief. They found the town deserted, which the *Indians* of *Chicoca* immediately set fire to. At their return from this expedition, the general feasted the cassique, and his principal attendants, with a regale of swine's flesh; which the *Indians*, who had never tasted any pork before, thought  
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so savoury, that they used frequently, afterwards, to kill, and steal the pigs, by night, from the houses where they were kept, at a small distance without the camp ; till, at last, the general was obliged to put two of them to death that were taken, in order to deter the rest. On the other hand, some violence having been offered to the *Indians*, by a few *Spanish* horse, near the spot where the cassique resided, *Soto*, as soon as he heard it, ordered the soldiers to be seized, and condemned two of them to death : Which sentence would most certainly have been executed, (the general being inflexible, and the *Indians* arriving, at the same time, with remonstrances against them to *Soto*, upon this account, from the cassique) had not the address of *Ortiz*, at the instigation and sollicitation of some noble *Spaniards*, dexterously changed the purport of the *Indians* message, by making it, according to his interpretation to *Soto*, in the conclusion, desire their pardon as a favour. On the other side, *Ortiz* assured the *Indians*, that the offenders were in custody, and that the general would punish them in a most exemplary manner. By these means, they escaped.

THE governor having determined to leave *Chicaca* in *March*, demanded *Indians*, for service, of the cassique, which the latter promised to propose to his people : But *Soto* perceiving, after he had repeated his demands, that he only sought to elude him, and was meditating something fatal, ordered *Masoso* to keep a good guard all that night ; which was yet, unhappily, neglected. The general's suspicion was but too well-grounded. The *Indians* fell upon the *Spaniards*, in the night, from several quarters, with their horrible war-hoop, and rushed into the camp, even with their own centinels, so that the town was half on fire by the time the noise of the enemy was heard, owing to the cowardly behaviour of the advanced guard, who suffered the *Indians* to enter it without resistance, where they waited for the *Spaniards*, as they leaped out of the houses, unarmed, blinded with the smoke, and pierced them with their arrows. The disorder and confusion was such, that a general panic seized the whole army, and prevented them from making head against the enemy. But it pleased providence not



to suffer the *Indians* to perceive this advantage ; on the reverse, they imagined the horses, which had broken loose from their halters, and were running through the streets, to be squadrons forming to charge them. Things being in this situation, *Soto* was the only man who could get on horseback ; and pushing, with one attendant, towards the enemy, slew, with his lance, the first he met with ; but as, in this disorder, his horse had not been well saddled, the force of his own blow threw him to the ground. The danger of the governor drew many, immediately, to his assistance, even of those who were flying ; and, the night continuing, deceived the imagination of the *Indians*, who still mistook the trampling they heard for troops ready to attack them. This slackened their fury, and they retired from the town, which was now entirely consumed, and in it all that remained to the *Spaniards*, from the burning of *Maville*.

TWELVE *Spaniards* perished on this occasion, and some others were much hurt by the flames : Fifty horses, and four hundred pigs, were burnt. Great part of the army had lost their clothing, as well as their arms, in the fire ; and suffered exceedingly from the severity of the weather, till a certain soldier invented a covering for himself, made of dry grass woven together ; which, though, at first, it served for matter of laughter, proved so useful, that they all were, at last, glad to wear the same sort of cloathing. In this condition, had the *Indians* repeated their attack immediately, they must have entirely destroyed them. The general thought proper to move his camp to where the cassique resided, and found, in that place, very fine ash-trees, of which the army made lances, as good as those of *Biscay* ; and, by the force of industry and contrivance, the cavalry, in eight days time, was again made ready for action.

On the fifteenth of *March* 1551, before day-break, the *Indians* returned to the attack. Providentially, the *Spaniards* were now in a condition to receive them. As the alarm was given in proper time, the governor and the cavalry were on their horses in an instant, and charged the *Indians* so furiously, that they fled with precipitation, leaving forty of their number dead upon the plain. Some

prisoners were taken, whom they kept for guides, and marched, on the twenty-fifth of *April*, for *Alimamu*, where they found but little maize. The general, therefore, detached *Danbusco*, with a party of horse and foot, to seek provisions, having a desert soon to pass of seven days journey. This partizan found a strong pallisade, where the *Indians* waited for the *Spaniards*: He saw them walking there with their arms, and their bodies painted with various colours, disposed in bands and fillets about them: Some had plumes, others horns, upon their heads; their visage blackened, and their eyes tinged with red, to render them more hideous. In the moment the *Spaniards* were observed by them, they sent up the war-hoop, and rushed out to meet them. *Danbusco* ranged his foot with their cross-bows and shields, before the horsemen, and thus stood ready to receive the *Indians*, who advanced to skirmish in small parties. The general, who presently came up, resolved to drive the enemy from this post. The cavalry were ordered to dismount, and attack the pallisade in four divisions. Their shock was bravely sustained by the *Indians*; but, at length, being very roughly charged, they retired across the stream, and defended the passage, by pouring over vast flights of arrows upon the *Spaniards*; who, not being able to find a ford, were forced to retreat, several of them being wounded upon the occasion, and some killed. The general was blamed in this affair, for not having better considered the ground, and fought where to ford the river, before he had attacked the enemy.

How much soever the troops, particularly the wounded, might want repose, scarcity of provision obliged the governor to decamp, and march to *Quizquiz*, their way to which lay, for seven days, through deserts, marshes, and woods. The *Indians* of this place, having no notice of such a visit, were all surprized in their houses; and, among others, the mother of the cassique was taken, of which *Soto* sent advice to her son, promising to deliver her up, and the rest likewise, if he would come to him. The *Indian* answered, that he would not, unless they should be delivered up first. This *Soto*, to humour him, consented to, in consideration that the army was quite spent with hunger and fatigue, and dismissed the chief's mother in the most obliging manner. On the next day, instead

of the cassique, several *Indians* appeared in arms, which made the *Spaniards* have immediate recourse to theirs. Upon this the former retreated to some distance, and, after an hour's deliberation, six of the principal ones came to the camp, and told the general their errand was to view the people he had brought: That they had heard from their ancestors of a white people, who were to conquer their country, and, therefore, their chief had sent them to present his services, and some mantles and skins, to the general. After which they returned, and the *Spaniards* heard no more of them.

THE general now advanced to the *Rio le Grand*, where there was plenty of maize, a good station for a camp, and no want of wood for building boats to pass over. Soon after they had pitched here, some *Indians* landed, and told the general, that they came to give him notice, that their master, a great cassique, lord of a large extent of country on the opposite shore, intended to visit him: Which he did, in effect, attended by 200 canoes filled with *Indians*, armed and painted, after their manner, and adorned with feathers of all colours. That which carried the cassique had a pavilion at the poop, under which he sat. All these boats ranged themselves near the bank of the river, whence the cassique addressed *Soto* in a very polite manner, and sent him some canoes, laden with fish, and a sort of cakes made of paste of plumbs. To this civility *Soto* replied with many thanks; beseeching him, at the same time, to land: With which request, though often most pressingly repeated, neither he, nor his people, could be prevailed upon to comply. But, from all their motions, it very plainly appeared, that they lay upon the watch to surprize the *Spaniards*, had they found them at all off their guard: An omission they had paid too dearly for already, to be guilty of again. Meanwhile, the boats they had been building, to transport the army over the river, were finished; and the general embarked, on board of them, twelve horsemen of approved valour, to try the passage; who, setting off about a quarter of a league above the camp, because the stream was very strong, rowed till they came within bow-shot of the opposite shore, where, entering on horseback into the water, they soon found a firm sandy shore.

shore to land upon ; and, as they saw no enemies, thus made themselves masters of the passage. The boat was then sent back, and the general, with the whole army, crossed over before sun-set. The river here was about a mile and a half over, very deep, and very rapid.

THE army having crossed this water, the largest of *Florida*, found themselves in the province of *Quixo*. *Soto* then detached a party to bring the boats up to a town, upon the banks of the river, abandoned by the natives on their arrival, where the army incamped ; but, as the course was not direct, and they were obliged to make many turns, the *Indians*, who well knew the navigation, attacked them with flights of arrows ; and, being both fearful of committing themselves to the main stream, and in danger of destruction, if they kept near the shore, their distress was very great, till the crossbow-men arrived, who were sent by the general to assist them.

THE army, next day, marched to the province of *Pacha* ; which, according to the report of the *Indians*, bordered upon that of *Chisca*, where that metal was to be found, which the governor took to be gold. In their way, they came to a small river ; but, as it had overflowed the banks, the troops were obliged to march through the water, till sun-setting, as high as the waist : At length, they arrived, to their great joy, upon firm ground ; and, the day after, they came to the province of *Casqui*. This country is higher, and drier, than any they had hitherto found. It abounds with nut, mulberry, and plumb-trees, which were as flourishing as any in our best cultivated gardens : For the land produces but few briars and thorns. Two days march the army proceeded into this province, before they came to the ordinary residence of the cassique, to whom the general made overtures of peace and friendship ; which were answered, by the chief, in terms highly satisfactory. The *Indians* here did not abandon the towns through which the army passed, but received them every where with joy, offering *Soto* fish, and fruits, &c.

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WHILE the general was encamped here, the cassique presented two blind men to him, desiring him, as he was the son of the sun, and so puissant a lord, to cure them. To this *Soto* replied, that the Master whom he served, who dwelt in the heavens which he had formed, who had created men and all things else, could alone grant them that favour; to whom, therefore, he recommended them to ask for whatever they had need of, in the name of the Christians God.

By this friendly *Indian*, *Soto* was informed that his way to *Pacaba* lay over a lake, which formed a kind of gulph in the *Rio Grande*, or great river; adding, that he would send *Indians* before him, to build a bridge over it for the passage of the army; which he actually did, and the bridge was finished when the governor arrived at the banks of this lake, the current through which was both deep and rapid. The bridge was built of girders, laid upon trees planted upright in the water, with stakes upon the top, for those that were passing to hold by. The cassique joined them here, with his *Indians* armed, and proceeded with *Soto* to the confines of the province of *Pacaba*, the cassique of which being at enmity with that of *Casqui*, the general sent him promises of protection, providing he would grant him his friendship. The *Pacaban* received this message with disdain, and retired with his people into the woods. *Soto* followed them, with all the cavalry, and took some in a town not far distant. He delivered these prisoners into the hands of the *Indians* of *Casqui*, who were much mortified at being prevented from massacring them.

THE general entered into the town of *Pacaba* on the nineteenth of *June*, and lodged in the cassique's house, which was large, palisadoed about, and fortified with turrets, pierced with holes for shooting through. The country adjacent was covered with maize, and several well-fortified towns appeared at different distances. The cassique of *Casqui* undertook to deliver him of *Pacaba* into the general's hands; to accomplish which, he ordered the canoes up the river, and came himself, by land, to the army, attended by many of his subjects. After some search, the *Indians* in the canoes discovered



covered the *Pacaban* and his people, in a little island ; upon which five or six *Spaniards* entered into a canoe, to take a view of them ; who being seen by the *Pacabans*, they imagined all in the several canoes to be *Spaniards* also ; which so terrified them, that, although 5,000 or 6,000 in number, they threw themselves into the water with such precipitation, that many of them were drowned. The *Indians*, as well as *Spaniards*, took great booty on this occasion ; but the former, fearing lest the *Spaniards* should make free with theirs, loaded their canoes, and returned to the cassique of *Casqui*, without taking leave of the general. Incensed at this usage, *Soto* determined to join the cassique of *Pacaka* ; and, for this end, immediately made overtures to him of friendship and protection, desiring, at the same time, to see him. Which request, after some hesitation, he complied with, came, attended by many of his subjects, and devoted himself and people to the general's service : In return for which, all the *Pacaban* prisoners of note, who had been taken, were set at liberty. On the day following, a messenger arrived at the camp from the cassique of *Casqui*, imploring pardon, in the most submissive manner, for the rash step his people had taken, which *Soto* granted, only upon condition that the *Casquian* chief should come immediately to him. When this was done, the governor was desirous to terminate differences between the two cassiques, and, for that end, made them both eat together at his table, which had the desired effect.

DURING these transactions, thirty horsemen had been sent off towards *Caluca*, to find, that way, a road to *Chisca* ; but they returned, after seven days march through a desert, without having had any success, and almost dead with fatigue and hunger. *Soto*, perceiving the country to the north to be so poor and barren, was directed by the *Indians* to a great province, lying southward of them, called *Quigate*, and abounding with all kind of provisions.

AFTER a repose of forty days, throughout which the two cassiques vied with each other in kindness to the general, the army began its march back again through *Casqui*, to *Quigate*, where it arrived on the fourth of *August*. This was the largest town the *Spaniards*

*Spaniards* had seen in all *Florida*; but *Soto*, having reason to suspect the *Indians*, who had quitted it, burnt that part of it which was not occupied by his people, fearing it might otherwise prove a cover for the enemy. The *casique* had fled to the woods, whence he was taken, but not without great difficulty, and informed the general, that, to the North-east, the province of *Coligoa* was situated, at the foot of the mountains. *Soto*, and all the army, took it for granted that they should find, beyond these mountains, the wealthy country they expected, and resolved, therefore, to march to *Coligoa*. So, leaving the chief of the last province in his town, they took an *Indian* for their conductor, who led them through woods for seven days: The worst circumstance in which was the marshiness of the soil, where they were sometimes obliged to sleep in the water. These marshes were so full of fish, that the soldiers could take as many as they pleased with their hands.

THE people of *Coligoa* had no advice of the army's approach, and so great was their surprize, that they threw themselves into a stream which ran by their habitation; but the *Spaniards*, besetting them on every side, took a great number of them, both men and women. From *Quigate* to the town of *Coligoa* the distance is about forty leagues, and the latter is situated at the foot of a mountain. The land around it is rich, and produces so much maize, that the inhabitants usually throw the old away, to make stowage-room for the corn of the new year. Cucumbers grow here larger and better than those of *Spain*, which, being stewed, have the flavour of chestnuts.

THE *casique* of this place granted the army a guide, and they marched thence, in five days, to *Palisema*, where they found the *casique's* house lined with deer-skins, so well coloured that they might have been taken for fine tapestry. The country here being very rude, and the dwellings far divided, the army made only a short stay in this place, and marched to *Tafalicoya*, the *casique* of which *Soto* took to show him the way to *Cayas*; where, when he arrived, finding the country thinly peopled, and the habitations scattered,

tered, contrary to what had been asserted, thinking himself imposed upon, *Soto* grew so angry with the cassique, as to threaten him very severely; but all the *Indians* constantly affirmed, that they were now in the province of *Cayas*, and that it was a fruitful and good country. The army proceeded to the chief town, called *Tanico*, and encamped upon the banks of a river. They found a number of mantles, made of skins, left for them, though the inhabitants were gone, which is a standing token, in this country, that there is no enmity subsisting.

THE army remained a whole month in the province of *Cayas*, during which time the horses grew so fat, that they had never been in so good a condition, throughout the whole expedition, as now, owing to the superior quality of the maize and straw, and still more to the water of a neighbouring lake, which was of such excellent goodness, that these animals were never satisfied with drinking it. Hitherto the army had been destitute of salt, but here they found plenty of it, which these *Indians* barter with their neighbours for mantles and skins. They make it into loaves along the river, where large quantities are left by the waters, after overflowing. They put it, sand and all, into pans wide at top and narrow at bottom; upon these pans they cast water, which falls into a vessel placed underneath; this they then boil, and when the water is evaporated, the salt appears at the bottom of the pot.

It was some time before any of the natives would venture near enough to give the *Spaniards* any opportunity of conversing with them; but, as soon as that offered, *Soto* enquired concerning their cassique, and was answered by the *Indians*, that their chief desired to remain at peace with him, but did not dare to trust himself in his presence. *Soto* gave them repeated assurances that he might, with the utmost safety, and sent a guide and interpreter to conduct him; who not returning in three days, the general went thither himself, and seized the chief and several of his people. The usual questions were asked, whether they knew any good country, or any great chief besides? To which they replied, that, about a day and a half's journey towards the south, lay the province of *Tulla*,

to which the cassique promised to grant the *Spaniards* a guide ; but, as the people of that region spoke a different language, and had been constantly at enmity with these of *Cayas*, which had prevented all communication, an interpreter was not to be procured.

THE general, upon this, set out himself, with a party of horse and foot, to see if it was practicable for the army to march through *Tulla*, but he hardly left the camp, before the natives arose, and attacked him upon the way in small parties, wounding several of the *Spaniards*, and leaving some of their own people dead upon the spot. *Soto*, fearing the consequences of proceeding, retired back to the camp, where he arrived on the morrow, and marched thence, with the whole army, for *Tulla* ; but could not find, among all the captives, any one that understood the language of that place. After some days march into the country, the natives set upon the army with bows and poles, in the form of pikes, but were very roughly handled by the *Spaniards*, whose general cut off the right hands and noses of six *Indians*, and sent them away to inform the cassique of *Tulla*, that, unless he should submit himself and people to the *Spanish* forces, their general was resolved to treat them all in the same manner. This brought on the wished-for consequences, and soon after some of the natives arrived, who testified, by their behaviour, the utmost marks of affection and obedience ; but, what rejoiced the governor most, was, that a person, capable of acting as interpreter, was found among those who brought in the presents of cow-hides, &c. without which assistance it would have been very difficult to proceed farther into *Florida*. The general, therefore, very carefully guarded this valuable *Indian*, sending the others back with full assurances of pardon to the cassique, desiring also an interview with him ; to which the latter complied, and, followed by twenty-four *Indians*, entered the camp all in tears, to demonstrate their sorrow for what had passed ; which is a custom always used in this country on occasions of showing their grief for a fault. They brought with them many cow-skins, which were of great service in so cold a region, because they are covered with a wool as fine as that of sheep. The cassique of *Tulla* addressed himself to *Soto*, both to apologize for his conduct, and offer his  
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own and people's services to him. It is not improper here, to observe, that all these princes, and their envoys, expressed themselves, in their several languages, with as much elegance and precision, as the most celebrated orator among Europeans could do.

Soto, informing himself concerning the qualities of the countries adjacent to *Tulla*, found that, south-eastward, there was a province named *Autiamqué*, about eighty leagues distant from *Tulla*, full of large towns, and very fruitful in maize; and, as the approaching season would prevent him from marching during three months at least, and provisions would be with more difficulty amassed, where the towns were so thinly dispersed; the *Indians* likewise describing a great lake at *Autiamqué*, which, from the manner of their discoursing about it, he guessed to be an arm of the sea, by means of which he not only hoped to send intelligence of himself to *Cuba*, but also to draw from thence a recruit of fresh men, to supply the places of what he had lost, which already amounted to 250 of his troops; he, therefore, determined to make *Autiamqué* his winter-quarters, and to seek some seaport in the spring.

HE, therefore, dismissed the cassiques of *Cayas* and *Tulla*, and began his march towards *Autiamqué*, which lay over very rough mountains. In passing them, he was informed of another province, called *Guabaté*, abounding with maize, and very populous. Nevertheless, as *Autiamqué* was nearer, *Soto* continued his rout, till he came to the town of *Anouxi*, and, from thence to *Catamaya*. The next day the army arrived at *Autiamqué*, in which town they found a great quantity of maize, fruit, &c. The general pitched his camp at a distance from the houses, the better to avoid fire, and fortified it with a wooden palisade. Some *Indians* waited upon the general with presents from the cassique, who never appeared, but only desired to know how long the army intended to remain in his country; to which *Soto* made no answer, knowing he should halt there a considerable time.



THE *casique* of *Autiamqué*, anxious to clear his dominions of these guests, employed some spies to lurk about the camp at night, one of whom was killed by a centinel, close to the pallisade. The general, roused at this, determined to keep his people alert, and frequently made false alarms, in order to put them upon their guard, always punishing those who were not found upon such occasions at their stations. Provisions they had in great plenty, and, among other food, abundance of rabbits, which the *Indians* taught them to catch. They took them in the green corn, especially in frosty weather, or after a fall of snow. Some of these animals were as large as the biggest hares, thicker, and broader backed.

THE army left *Autiamqué* on the sixth of *March* 1542, and the general resolved to go to *Nilco*, because it was said to be situated upon the banks of a large river, his design being to march along that to the sea-shore, and there wait for succours. For now he had no more than 300 men able to bear arms, and about forty horses, several of which were lame. His disappointment and affliction were greatly enhanced by the death of *John Ortiz*, who died at *Autiamqué*, leaving none to succeed him as interpreter, except the young *Indian* of *Catibiqui*, before mentioned, who now understood a little *Spanish*, but still so imperfectly, that much time was lost in laborious explanation; and, frequently, vexatious and miserable mistakes arose from misinterpretation.

THE way, after they had quitted *Autiamqué*, was excessively broken, marshy and dangerous, so that, in many places, the army passed by swimming. At length, it arrived at *Tutelpina*, a town deserted by its inhabitants, and destitute of provisions. A lake lay before it, in passing which the general lost one of his officers, the waters being both very deep, and running impetuously into a neighbouring river; hence, after three days march, they arrived at *Tianto*, the first town in the province of *Nilco*. The general detached a party to prevent the *Indians* from carrying off the provisions from their dwellings. Before the army came to the habitation of the *casique*, they passed through four large towns, and, on the fifteenth of *March*, without any molestation, *Soto*, with all his forces, march-  
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ed into the town of *Nilco*. Of all the parts of *Florida* they had yet seen, *Palache* and *Cofa* excepted, this country appeared to be the most fertile and best peopled. Soon after their arrival, an *Indian*, attended by some more of the natives, came to visit the general, and made him several presents in the name of the *casique*, which *Soto* recompensed with some trifles, that he knew these people were fond of. Hitherto the *Spaniards* had made little acquaintance with the natives, but their granaries, where they laid up the corn, were constantly robbed in the night, by a gang of them, who carried their booty across the river: To prevent this evil, *Soto* set a guard near a lake, from which the *Indians* used to come, and was informed by two of them, who were taken by these means, that the *Indian* we mentioned above as visiting *Soto*, was a spy, sent to examine his strength, and to know whether he intended to proceed farther, or settle in this country. The general hereupon ordered a detachment to pass the river, but, the moment the *Indians* perceived it, they fled with such precipitation, that very few of them could be overtaken.

THE river that runs by *Nilco* is the same that waters *Cayas* and *Autiamqué*; it empties itself into a larger stream, that flows near *Pacaba* and *Aquixo*. Their junction is made near *Guachoya*, the *casique* of which district was now at war with him of *Nilco*, and came up the river to offer his services to *Soto*, by whom he was received with much honour and distinction. He made the general many presents of mantles and skins, and addressed him in very submissive and handsome terms. *Soto* feasted him and his attendants, after which he enquired concerning the circumstances of the country, in proceeding down the river. The *casique* replied, he knew of no other town than his own, but that, on the other side of the water, there was a province governed by a chief, called *Quigaltan*. Soon after *Soto* resolved to visit *Guachoya*, to know how near it lay to the sea, and whether there was any convenient place to reside in whilst he constructed two brigantines, in order to send for succours from *Cuba*.

WHEN the *Indians* of *Guacboya* saw the *Spaniards* on the march, as they were navigating the river in their canoes, they spread so strong a rumour through the country, that *Soto* was coming to attack them, as made the *casique*, during the night, fly with all his subjects, and whatever they could carry with them over to the opposite bank of the great river. The army arrived at *Guacboya* on the seventeenth of *April*. The great river is called, at this place, *Tamalifeu*; at *Nilco*, *Tapatu*; at *Cosa*, *Mico*; and, at its falling into the sea, *Ri*.

As soon as the *Spaniards* arrived at *Guacboya*, an *Indian* came, attended by several others, laden with presents for the general from their *casique*, who, presently after, arrived himself, and made a very handsome harangue to *Soto*, excusing, in the best manner he could, his precipitate retreat, and offering to serve him with all his power. The general thanked him in the most grateful terms, and desired to know whether he could give him information in any particulars relating to the sea-coast. The *Indian* answered, that the most potent lord in all those quarters resided about three days journey down on the opposite shore, whose dominion was called *Quigaltan*. Upon this intelligence, *Soto* dispatched *Danbusco*, with eight horsemen, to proceed down the river, and inform himself whether the sea was near. After marching eight days, the party returned, having been able to make but little progress, because the river, in its course, took great windings, and the country was so encumbered with woods and marshes, as to be almost impenetrable. This disheartening news affected the general so deeply, as to throw him into a fever; which did not, however, prevent him from sending to the *casique* of *Quigaltan*, to require his submission, and the pleasure of seeing him, which, he acquainted this chief, was a homage hitherto paid him by all the *casiques*, whose dominions he had yet passed through. To this message *Quigaltan* replied, that it was not his custom to visit any, but that all his neighbours visited, served, and paid him tribute, either willingly or by force: That, if *Soto* had any thing to offer, he was welcome to come to him as a friend; but, if he should chuse to act as an enemy, he waited

waited for him in his town, whence he would never stir an inch, either for him or any one else.

ALTHOUGH *Soto* was suffering under the violent attack of a fever, when the *Indian* brought this answer, he still felt more from a sense of his present inability to chastise this haughty cassique, who not only despised his summons, but, as was reported, intended to attack the *Spaniards*: Apprehending this circumstance to be no vague intelligence, the general redoubled his guards, and kept a good watch. The horse patrolled nightly round the camp, and the crossbow-men guarded the river in canoes, to prevent any surprize on that side. *Soto*, to render himself still more dreadful to the *Indians*, detached a party to *Nilco*, whether, as he was told by the natives of *Guachoya*, the inhabitants were returned; the cassique of the latter also sent several canoes upon the same expedition, laden with armed *Indians*. This party, which consisted both of horse and foot, advanced to the town with such rapidity, as to surprize the inhabitants, in number about 5000 souls, before they could escape, who, pressing in crowds out of their houses, there was hardly one horseman that did not see himself surrounded by many *Indians*. As the *Spanish* commander had ordered his people to give no quarter to the men, a horrible carnage ensued, wherein more than a hundred of the *Indians* fell, besides numbers which were wounded, by the *Spaniards*, some of whom carried their cruelty so far, as to murder the innocent women and children. The *Indians* of *Guachoya* halted peaceably at a distance from the town, while this inhuman scene was transacting, to see the event; but, as soon as they perceived the *Indians* were broken, and the *Spaniards* chasing them, they ran to pillage the houses; and, having loaded their canoes with the booty, returned, before the *Spaniards*, to *Guachoya*, where they related all that had happened, with dread and astonishment, to their cassique.

MEANWHILE, the general perceiving his dissolution near, assembled the officers and the bulk of the soldiery, to whom he made a very moving address, acknowledging the great goodness of providence



vidence, in granting him a full possession of his faculties to the last, thanking all the commanders and soldiers for their faithful services, fidelity, and the affection that they had, upon every occasion, testified for his person, and recommending to them the choice of some leader, to command them in his stead, as the last request he should ever make, and which would, in some measure, alleviate the uneasiness he felt at being obliged to leave them in a barbarous and unknown country. When he had spoken thus, all that were present broke into most pathetic demonstrations of sorrow, and earnestly requested himself to chuse a successor for them. This he readily complied with, and named *Lewis Mascofo d'Alvarado*, who being universally approved of, they all swore fidelity to him immediately.

ON the morrow, the twenty-first of *May*, the brave, the virtuous, and magnanimous Captain Don *Ferdinand de Soto*, governor of *Cuba*, and general of *Florida*, yielded up his soul to God. His death the *Spaniards* endeavoured to conceal from the *Indians*, who entertained so high an opinion of his abilities, that they looked upon him to be immortal; and, lest a conviction to the contrary might encourage them to revolt, the body was buried by night, just within one of the town-gates; but the *Indians*, who had conceived some suspicions of his death, were observed to eye the earth, that had been newly removed there, with much curiosity; for which reason, the *Spaniards* removed the body, on the night following, and, wrapping it up with a great deal of sand, carried it into the middle of the river, and buried it there.

DURING these events, the cassique of *Guachoya* frequently enquired concerning *Soto*, whom he called his Lord and Brother; and *Mascofo* having assured him that he was only gone a journey to heaven, which he often had done, and that, intending to make some stay, he had appointed himself to act in his room, the Cassique no longer doubted of his death, but sent two handsome young *Indians*, who he desired might be slain, to accompany him during his journey, according to the custom of this country. *Mascofo* desired the cassique to send for the young men again, for the gover-



nor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and had chosen from among his own people some to attend him, and besought the cassique to forego so cruel a custom. He then delivered up the *Indians*, charging them to return, which one of them refused to do, declaring he would never leave *Moscoso*, who had saved his life, but live and die with him.

AFTER these transactions, *Moscoso* called a council, to consult which way the army should now direct its course, whether over land, westward, towards the *Spanish* settlements, or whether they should endeavour to reach the sea, and from thence sail over to *Cuba*. This latter determination being rejected, from an apprehension of their inability to construct a vessel capable of enduring the violence of such a voyage, and for want of a pilot, charts, and compasses, &c. the common resolution was fixed to march away by land; and therefore the general, having received a guide from the cassique, to lead them to *Chaguata*, quitted *Gua-choya* on the fifth of *June*, and arrived at the former place, on the twentieth, after marching six days through a desert.

THE cassique of this province had visited *Soto* while at *Autiam-qué*, and made him several presents; nevertheless, the *Spaniards* missed one of their people, who had fallen sick, just at entering into his town; upon which *Moscoso* acquainted the cassique, that he expected to receive the *Spaniard* from his hands again; and, unless he should, declared he would never leave him, or his people, till he had destroyed both, and carried fire throughout his country. The cassique immediately appeared, bringing the sick man with him, and made the general many presents, assuring him, at the same time, of his fidelity and integrity, and that his design had been to cure the sick man and bring him again as soon as he should have been recovered. *Moscoso* received his apology with great good-nature, alledging that he had suspected him of having behaved in the same manner that several other cassiques had done before him, but that the testimony he had given of his affection and fidelity, obliged him to love him as his brother.

THE cassique accompanied *Moscoso* to the town, distant about a day's journey, in their way to which they passed by a salt-manufactory, where the *Spaniards* provided themselves with some of that useful commodity. They remained here six days, during which the general informed himself concerning the country westward, and learned that, at three days march from *Chaguete*, he should find the province of *Aguacay*.

HERE the army arrived on the fourth of *July*, and found the town abandoned; nevertheless, the cassique sent several of his people to *Moscoso*, with presents of mantles, skins, &c. In this place, the *Indians* also make salt, in the same manner as they do at *Cayas*.

THE *Spaniards* left *Aguacay* on the same day, and, four days after, were in the province of *Maye*, and encamped, on the twentieth, in a very pleasant wood between that place and *Naguata*. Soon after their arrival here, some *Indian* spies were observed hovering about the camp, two of them were taken, and the rest slain. By this accident, the *Spaniards* got intelligence that the cassique of *Naguata*, in league with other chiefs, intended to attack the *Spaniards* that day; and, indeed, while these *Indians* were under examination, the enemy appeared in two bodies, and, perceiving themselves to be discovered, charged the *Spaniards* most furiously; but the latter, sustaining the shock vigorously, they fled with precipitation, and were pursued by the cavalry. While these things were in agitation, a great cry was heard at a small distance from the camp, towards which *Moscoso* detached twelve horsemen to know the cause, who found there six *Spaniards* surrounded by a great number of *Indians*, to which superiority, without assistance, the former must have fallen a sacrifice, though they fought like lions: However, this reinforcement turned the scale so much, that the greater part of the *Indians* were slain, and one of them taken, whom *Moscoso*, after cutting off his right arm and nose, sent, in that condition, to the cassique of *Naguata*, to give him notice, that, on the morrow, he would enter his country, and lay it waste with fire and sword; and that, if the cassique should be desirous of preventing

preventing it, he must meet him at his entrance. The army marched next day towards the township of *Naguata*, the houses of which were separated from each other. The residence of the cassique was on the opposite side of a river, where the *Indians* stood ready to oppose the *Spaniards* in passing over; which, however, the latter accomplished, in spite of all obstacles, and entered into a country well furnished with provisions, and all the necessaries of life. *Moscoso* had not been here long, before the cassique of *Naguata* sent a party of *Indians* to observe the behaviour of the general and his people, and to acquaint the former, that he intended to visit him, which he did presently afterwards, attended by a large body of the natives, all in tears, according to the fashion of *Tulla*, which is not far distant: He made a profound reverence to the general, and demanded pardon for his offence, throwing all the blame upon the bad councils of one of his brothers, who fell in the battle: He enlarged much in the praise of *Moscoso* and the *Spaniards*, whom he professed to regard as a people something more than human, and concluded with offers of service and obedience. When he had finished, the general received him into his favour, and promised to consider him as his friend, provided his behaviour should correspond with his words.

THE army soon after decamped, but was obliged to turn back, upon account of the swelling of the river, which appeared the more extraordinary because no rain had fallen; but, as it frequently happened, and always at the increase of the moon, it should seem to be owing to the tide, though the *Indians* had no knowledge of any sea; nevertheless, they found means to pass it eight days after, and, in three days, arrived at a village belonging to the cassique of *Misfobone*, a barren and ill-peopled province; thence they wandered through a wild district, called *Lacani*, and, soon after, arrived at the province of *Mendacao*, the cassique of which presented the general with a quantity of fish. He was received very kindly; and, as soon as the army had provided themselves with subsistence, they received a guide, and marched towards *Soacatino*. In journeying thither, they passed through the province of *Aays*, the fierce inhabitants of which harassed the *Spaniards* continually, during their

march to *Guasco*, where they arrived, after having suffered incredible hardships and fatigues ; and, finding maize sufficient for their use here, they loaded their horses, and marched to *Nagiscola*.

IN fine, having travelled long to no purpose, through miserable deserts, frequently bewildered, and quite at a loss which way to proceed, perpetually engaged in perils and alarms, and uncertain still whether famine would not be their destruction at last, the general called a council, wherein it was determined to return to *Nilco*, and there build vessels to carry the troops down the river, and so to some of the *Spanish* settlements by sea. This resolution was far from giving content to all; many there were among the *Spaniards*, that would rather have taken the highest probability of perishing in *Florida*, through want, than have returned thence poor and disappointed ; nevertheless, these, not having number or force to oppose, were obliged to submit to the general determination.

THE troops had already marched 150 leagues to the west of the great river, and now they repented of having laid waste the country through which they were to return ; but the inconveniency was less than the expectation of it, for they found the town of *Naguata*, which had been burnt, now rebuilt by the *Indians*, and the houses well stored with maize, the country being both fertile, and well peopled. They make here earthen dishes, not much unlike those of *Estremos* and *Montemor*. The *Spaniards* left *Naguata*, and came to *Chaguete*, and at length arrived at *Nilco* ; but found so little maize there, that they were entirely thrown into a dejection, nearly bordering upon despair, seeing no means of subsisting during the time requisite for building the vessels to carry them out of *Florida* ; not owing to sterility of soil, but to the neglect of the *Indians*, who had been too much frightened to employ themselves in tillage, while the troops resided at *Guachoya* : For the province is extremely fertile, which made the *Spaniards* confident of finding subsistence here. The soldiers now began to curse the resolution, to push on their discoveries no farther westward, and to look upon the design of putting to sea as absurd and chimerical to the last degree,

gree, they being totally unprovided with every necessary preparation for shipping. The unfortunate *Narvaez* was frequently recalled to their minds, who was lost upon this coast; but the heaviest of all their misfortunes was the want of food, without which it was impossible for the men to labour.

THEY had now no resource left, but to recommend themselves to divine providence in prayer, for his immediate assistance, and he heard them, sending the *Indians* of *Nilco*, with great submission, to inform them that there were, at the distance of two days journey from them, upon the banks of the great river, towns of which the *Spaniards* had no knowledge. The country was called *Minoya*, and very fertile. *Moscoso*, upon this, dispatched a captain with a party of horse and foot, attended by the *Indians* of *Nilco*, who were at war with the people of these towns, one of which they instantly seized, and entrenched themselves in it, having found a great quantity of maize there. Great was the joy in the camp at hearing these tidings, and all the troops set forward immediately, though the weather was very bad, being rainy, attended with a cold north wind, and the ways very full of water, yet they surmounted all difficulties, and lodged themselves in the best of the towns, at a quarter of a league from the great river. Hither they brought all the maize from the other towns, amounting to six thousand bushels. The place also afforded wood, better for the building of vessels than any thing they had yet seen in *Florida*.

THE general now set every person that could be useful to work: He collected all the iron that could be gotten, even the chains from the prisoners, and wood was immediately felled for timber. Providentially there was found among their number some one artificer qualified to serve for every use. In fine, after great fatigue and perseverance, seven brigantines were finished in the month of *June*; but a difficulty very hard to be overcome yet remained, and that was to set them afloat; for the *Indians* had declared, that the great river rose only once a year, at the time when the snows were melting, which had already happened, and no rain had fallen for a long space: However, it pleased God that  
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the river swelled suddenly, upon the increase of the moon, and came, as it were, to fetch the brigantines away; so that they were floated into the bed of the river with great ease. A thing which, but for this event, would have been effected not without great labour, and the hazard of straining them, and opening their seams, in hauling them down to the water. And thus, on the second day of *July* in the year 1543, the *Spaniards* were all embarked, and departed from *Minoya*. *Moscoso* appointed a captain to each brigantine, and made them swear to obey him in the same manner as they did when ashore. This being done, they proceeded to *Gua-choya*. Leaving this place, they found the current very strong, and advanced at a great rate by the help of their oars, till they came to *Quigaltam*. *Moscoso* sent, from time to time, parties ashore, and found great quantities of maize in the houses, which were afterwards embarked on board of the vessels. While they were passing through this province, frequent attacks were made upon them by the *Indians*, in one of which the *Spaniards* lost about twenty-five men, with their commander *John Gasman*, who was detached with this party in canoes to attack the enemy; by whose canoes, much larger, and more numerous than his, he was soon surrounded, when the *Indians* throwing themselves in multitudes into the water, and laying hold upon the *Spaniards* canoes, overturned them all in an instant. These brave men all perished, being carried to the bottom by the weight of their armour.

THIS success so encouraged the *Indians*, that they omitted no opportunity of annoying the vessels during the whole time of their falling down the river, sometimes making a shew as if they intended to board them, and constantly kept up a continual discharge of their arrows from the banks of the river. The *Spaniards* lost a considerable number of men upon this occasion: They, at last, lined the gunnels and quarter-decks with a breast-work made of double matts, so thick as to prevent the arrows from penetrating.

WHEN they had arrived at about half a league's distance from the mouth of the river, the general landed his men, in order to refresh them, as they had been greatly fatigued by rowing. Here they

they staid two days only, as the *Indians* still continued to alarm them. The eighteenth of *July* they put to sea, with a favourable wind, and after a passage of fifty-two days, arrived at the mouth of the river *Panico*, on the continent of *Mexico*, on the tenth of *September* 1543, having undergone various fatigues, dangers, and difficulties, as well by sea as by land, and lost above one half of their number in this unfortunate expedition.

*Expedition of JOHN RIBAUT, a Frenchman.*

THE expedition of *Soto* into *Florida*, having been followed by such a train of melancholy and fruitless events, the *Spaniards* no longer turned their views toward these coasts. It did not, however, deter the *French*; for, in the year 1562, *John Ribault* sailed from *France*, with two men of war well manned and victualed, having on board a large body of land-forces; and, after two months sail, made the shore of *North America*, in the latitude of thirty degrees north. The coast was low and flat, being cloathed all over with very lofty trees. No harbour appearing, they steered northward, keeping the land in sight, until they came to a beautiful river, which they called *May River*, that being the month it was discovered in. They entered its mouth, which was deep and capacious: The country was fine, and the inhabitants received them kindly. Silk-worms were observed upon the mulberry-trees, which grew here in great numbers.

LEAVING this river, and stretching farther to the north, they landed at various places; the inhabitants of which, at first, apprehensive of mischief from the sudden arrival of strangers, fled into the woods, but were soon so much reconciled, as very willingly to converse with the *French*, and make them presents of skins, and baskets (very ingeniously woven out of palm-leaves), and also a few pearls. *Ribault*, being desirous to form a settlement upon this spot, sounded his people concerning it; and finding six and twenty

of them contented to winter here, raised hastily a small fortification for them, which extended sixteen poles in length, and thirteen in breadth, calling it *Carolín*; and, appointing *Albert*, his lieutenant, governor of the colony, to whom having given proper instructions, he set sail, and arrived at *Dieppe* in *France*, on the twentieth of *July* in the same year.

*ALBERT* applied himself to obtain information of the state of the neighbouring provinces, and visited their various little princes, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with them; which he effected to such a degree, that they very readily supplied him and his people with provision, and often made them presents of pearls, crystal, and silver, in large quantities.

*THESE* advantages could not, however, prevent the fate of *Albert*, who fell a sacrifice to the licentious humour of his people, irritated by the severe restrictions and discipline he laid them under, which yet were the best means to preserve their safety among the natives. But the colony were soon convinced, after he was taken off, that they should be able to subsist no longer, especially as the supplies expected by them from *France* did not arrive: Upon this they resolved to depart; and, having laid in what provision they could collect, set sail for *France*: But, meeting with a calm for twenty days together, this unforeseen accident reduced them to the horrid distress, for want of food, of killing one of their companions, to sustain life by eating his flesh, when luckily they met with an *English* ship, which set them ashore upon the coast of *England*, whence they were conducted to the court of *Queen Elizabeth*; and, most probably, their narrative first made her turn her thoughts towards *Florida*.

*Expedition of RENE LANDONIERE, a Frenchman.*

FRANCE, during this period, had been too much encumbered with intestine broils to think of sending supplies to *Caroline*; but, those being now allayed, *René Landoniere*, who had made this voyage before with *Ribault*, was sent thither in *April 1564*, with three ships, and arrived in the river *May* on the *July* following, at the same place which the *French* had left, and built there a little town, and fortified it with a rampart of earth, and called it also *Caroline*. Both he and his people were kindly treated by the inhabitants of the country; and, by their assistance, he penetrated into the more interior and remote parts. Still, as he moved, he made friendships and treaties with the various chiefs, among whom he had the art of sowing an emulation of gaining his good-will. He resisted the endeavours of those *Cassiques* who were desirous of obtaining his assistance against such as they were at variance with, and made it his study to reconcile all differences between the petty princes adjacent; that, by their help, he might be enabled to crush all opponents in those inland parts of *Florida*, about the *Apalachian* mountains, where he had good reason to believe mines of silver and copper were to be found.

WHILE these considerations took up his attention, his people began to be in want of provision; and, by a failure of the *Indians* in not bringing supplies as usual, were reduced to such extremity, that, to avoid perishing by hunger, they had resolved to return to *France*, and were preparing two barks for that purpose, the ships that brought them hither having sailed back again some time before, when they were fortunately relieved, by the purchase of a ship laden with provisions, from one *Hawkins*, an *Englishman*, that happened to arrive upon this coast.

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DURING these transactions, *Landoniere* had been accused of various misdemeanours, contrived by some enemies among those who had been sent back to conduct the ships to *France*, in order to ruin his reputation at the *French* court, which were so successful, that *John Ribault* was dispatched with a commission to divest him of his government, and send him to *France*. *Ribault* arrived in *Florida* on the twenty-eight of *August* 1565, just as *Landoniere* had prepared every thing for departure. As soon as the news of the arrival of *Ribault* was rumoured among the *Indians*, their several *casiques* came to visit him, made him presents, and promised to conduct him to the *Apalachian* mountains, out of which a certain redish metal was digged, which they called *Sieroa Pira*, and believed to be gold.

WHILE these things were in agitation, six large *Spanish* vessels entered the mouth of the river, and came to an anchor there. *Ribault* who had come higher up the stream, and had only three small ships with him, seeing himself unable to cope with the *Spaniards*, slipped his cables, fearing what the purport of their intentions might be, and put to sea, whither he was closely pursued by the *Spaniards*; but, outailing them, the latter put about, and entered the mouth of another river, about eight leagues from that of *May*, where they landed their men, and began to fortify. *Ribault*, whose ships were now returned to the port, called a consultation of his officers, and resolved to attack the *Spaniards* before they should have built a fortress, as it were, under their noses; and, for this purpose, embarked the best of *Landoniere's* soldiers, leaving him in the fort of *Caroline*, with eighty souls, men, women, and children, most of them sick

*RIBAULT* put to sea on the tenth of *September*, where he was overtaken, about fifty leagues from the fortress, with so dreadful a tempest, that, unable to withstand the fury of the wind, the ships were all dashed to pieces among the rocks; and though *Ribault*, together with his people, escaped the rage of the sea, they could not escape that of the *Spaniards*, who inhumanly slew them all, contrary to the faith of nations, after they had surrendered, massacring



cring more than 600 in number : And, bent upon entirely rooting out the name of *France* in *Florida*, having passed woods, lakes, and rivers, with incredible celerity, were at the fort on the nineteenth of *October* before sun-rise, although in the rainy season, and attacked the *French* so unexpectedly, that they surprized them in their beds, and, after a little opposition from the guard, broke over the rampart into the parade, when a promiscuous slaughter of old and young, women and children, sick and well, ensued. *Landiniere*, with great difficulty, being not yet recovered from a fit of sickness, escaped with a few of his people, through the marshes, to the ships that *Ribault* had left, and, at length, returned into *France*. The rest were all slaughtered.

#### *Expedition of DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES.*

THIS terrible destruction of his countrymen, in *Florida*, though passed over without resentment by the *French* king, either because of the dissensions which, at that time, distracted the court of *France*, or from his hatred to the Protestants, of whom the greater part of this armament had consisted ; roused, nevertheless, the resolution of *Dominique de Gourgues*, a native of *Gascony*, to revenge it ; who equipped, at his own expence, three ships of a moderate size : And, having embarked two hundred soldiers and eighty seamen on board of them, sailed from *France* on the twenty-second of *August* 1567 ; and, passing through the streights of *Bahama*, arrived at the mouth of the river *May*.

THE *Spaniards*, mistaking them for their own people, saluted them with a discharge of artillery, which *Gourgues*, desirous to confirm them in their error, returned again, and, sailing on for about fifteen leagues, landed his people at the river *Tacatacouru*, where he was joyfully received by the natives, having signified to them that he was come from the *French* king, to bring friendship and protection to them, and to revenge all the injuries they had

received from the *Spaniards*. Upon this, mutual pledges of faith and alliance were exchanged, and the *Indian* forces combined with the *French* in keeping these transactions a profound secret from the *Spaniards*.

BESIDE the fort called *Caroline*, now repaired by the latter, they had built two more lower down the river, on the opposite banks, which they had mounted with the cannon taken from the *French*, and had garrisoned the whole with four hundred chosen men.

THE forces of the *French*, in conjunction with the *Indians*, being assembled, *Gourgues* proposed to attack the *Spaniards* by surprise, before day-break, but the badness of the ways made it impossible to come in sight of the forts before the sun had risen, of which, when *Gourgues* was apprized, he led his forces about through the woods by a more commodious, though a longer way; and, passing the river, marched up to the *Spanish* fort, which was situated on the right-hand bank.

AFTER the firing of a few cannons from the rampart, the *Indians* tumultuously rushed upon it, and *Gourgues* immediately following, the place was taken; and, with no less rapidity, the Savages, by swimming, and he in a boat, with eighty musqueteers, landed on the opposite shore, also took that fort by storm, and pillaged it. The flying garrison was intercepted by the natives, who lay waiting in an adjoining wood. One hundred and twenty *Spaniards* were slain on this occasion, and thirty reserved for punishment.

CAROLINE fortress yet remained to be taken, in which was the governor himself, and a garrison of three hundred men, who hoped to sustain a siege until succours should be sent to them; but, *Gourgues* having learned from the prisoners, that the *Spaniards* imagined his forces amounted to 2,000 men, thought no time ought to be given them for finding out their mistake; therefore, having prepared eight skiffs, and making use of a *Spanish* captive officer for his guide, he came by morning in sight of the fort. Here, after planting *Indians* in ambush among the woods interspersed

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on every side, that no outlet might be left to the flying, he determined to make his attack upon the lowest part of the rampart, where the ditch was shallowest, the commanding officer of which part detached thence sixty of his people, to inform themselves of the state of the *French*; but, being intercepted by the *Indians*, *Gourgues* slew every one of them to a man.

THE *Spanish* governor, affrighted at this catastrophe, endeavoured to retreat into the neighbouring woods with his people, where they were almost entirely intercepted. Thus, the forts, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the *French*, who hung the captives upon the nearest trees, with this observation, that they were not punished because they were *Spaniards*, but as traitors and murderers; retaliating the *Spanish* governor's observation, when he butchered the *French* on the same spot, that he did not destroy them for being *Frenchmen*, but because they were *Lutherans*.

AFTER those transactions, *Gourgues* perceiving his forces not sufficiently numerous to maintain these forts, persuaded the natives to demolish them, and returned to *France*, with the cannon and the rest of the spoils.

#### Sir FRANCIS DRAKE'S Expedition to Florida.

IN the year 1585, some private adventurers in *England* fitted out a fleet of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, having in the whole on board the number of 2,300 sailors and landmen, the command of which was conferred on Sir *Francis Drake*, as admiral in chief, having under him *Martin Forbisher*, as vice-admiral, *Francis Knolles* as rear-admiral, and lieutenant-general *Christopher Carlile*, as commander of the land-forces. This fleet sailed in the month of *September*, with orders to cruize against the *Spaniards*, and make descents on their colonies in the *West-Indies*. In their way

way thither, he touched at *St. Jago*, one of the *Cape de Verde* islands; and, having sacked and burnt the chief town, called *Praie*, proceeded for the island of *Hispaniola*, where he obliged the inhabitants of *St. Domingo* to pay, by way of ransom, 25,000 ducats, to preserve their town from being burned.

FROM hence he steered his course for the harbour of *Carthagena*; the attack of which being resolved on, they made themselves masters of it, after a bloody and obstinate defence. Some part of this town was destroyed, but, at last, a ransom of 110,000 ducats was paid to preserve the remainder. From this place, he steered for *Cape Florida*, which, when he had doubled, he coasted all along, not touching any where, till, on the twenty-eight day of *May* 1586, being in the latitude of  $30^{\circ}$  nearly, in the morning early, they perceived a structure, which seemed to be erected as a beacon, or look-out. The admiral judging thereby that some *Spanish* settlement must be near at hand, determined to land and endeavour to find it out, as he and every one in the fleet were entirely unacquainted in these parts. Accordingly, standing in for the shore, he ordered the pinnaces to be immediately manned, and he in person, at the head of the land-forces, marching up about a mile along the side of a river, perceived, on the other side thereof, a fort, as also a town, about three miles higher up, built of wood. Had a sufficient number of seamen been on shore to make entrenchments, the general would that night have passed over the river, and invested the fort, till cannon was landed to erect a battery. However, the lieutenant-general, in a row-skiff, went to reconnoitre it; and, though he used all precaution to prevent his being discovered, yet the *Spaniards* took the alarm, and, after discharging some pieces precipitately abandoned the place, imagining the *English* were approaching to attack them with their whole force. However, he returned without knowing that the fort had been deserted, till a *French* sifer, who had been detained there as a prisoner, coming over in a little boat, and playing the Prince of *Orange's* march, informed the guard thereof, at the same time offering his service to conduct them over.



UPON this intelligence, Sir *Francis Drake* crossed the river with his men, and found the account he had received was true, as there was not one man found in the fort, though two or three stragglers, who had ventured to return, fired a few random shot at them on their passage. This fort was made entirely of wood, and only surrounded by a wall, or pale, formed of the bodies or trunks of large trees set upright in the earth; for it was not at that time enclosed by a ditch, as it had been but lately begun by the *Spaniards*. The platforms were made of the bodies of large pine-trees (of which there are plenty here), laid horizontally across each other, with earth rammed in to fill up the vacancies. This fort was called *St. John*, and in it was left fourteen pieces of brass ordnance, together with a chest of silver, containing about 2,000 *l. Sterling*, designed for the payment of the garrison, which consisted of 150 men.

THE next day he marched towards the town, but the road thither being very bad, and the communication intercepted by some unfordable rivers, he was obliged to return, and reembark his men on board the pinnaces, and so proceed up the main river, which, as well as the town, he afterwards found was called *St. Augustine*. On their approaching in order to land, the *Spaniards* appeared, and made a shew of opposing them, but, on the first volley of small arms they retreated, and fled into the country, leaving the passage to the town free, which he found was entirely deserted. He was here informed, that, about twelve leagues to the Northward of *St. Augustine*, there was another fort called *St. Helena*, where there was also a garrison of 150 men, and that both these places were under the government of one person, who at that time was one *Pedro Malendez Marqueffe*; and that the end for which they were constructed and garrisoned, was to prevent any other nation from making any settlement on that coast.

SIR FRANCIS having held a council of his officers, determined to proceed immediately against *St. Helena*, which he accordingly did; but, it being a dangerous shore, full of shoals, and having no pilot who knew the coast, or could undertake to carry him in, he dropt his design, and made the best of his way to *Virginia*.

Captain



*Captain DAVIS's Expedition to Florida.*

IN the year 1665, Captain *John Davis*, one of the *Buccaniers*, or free-booters, in those days very numerous in the *West-Indies*, having on several occasions exerted himself, and behaved with extraordinary intrepidity and conduct, was by them, on that account, chosen commander in chief, or, as they styled him, Admiral of a fleet of seven or eight vessels which they were then fitting out at *Jamaica* (of which island he was a native), with an intent to cruise against the *Spaniards*. For this purpose, he steered to the northward of the island of *Cuba*, where he fixed his station, in expectation of intercepting their fleet on its return from *New-Spain* for *Europe*; but, being disappointed in this scheme he determined to proceed to *Florida*, and make a descent on that coast: And, accordingly, he came before *St. Augustine*, where he landed, and marched directly to the town; which he entirely sacked and plundered, without meeting the least opposition or resistance from the *Spaniards*, although they had then a garrison of two hundred men in the fort, which, at that time, was an octagon, fortified and defended by round towers.

*Colonel Moor's Expedition into Florida.*

IN the year 1702, Colonel *Moor*, at that time governor of *Carolina*, entering this province at the head of the *English*, joined by the *Carolina-Indians*, advanced towards the river *Flint*: He there engaged and defeated the *Spanish-Indians*, killing and taking prisoners above 600 of them, and ravaged the open country all the way he went, till he came before *St. Augustine*, which he invested, and laid close siege to, but without any effect, for the garrison made a brave and gallant defence, and, at the end of three months,

they were relieved by some *Spanish* vessels, who brought them fresh supplies, and a reinforcement. The appearance of this so intimidated him, that he raised the siege, and retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him the vessel and the stores which he had brought with him, and returned to *Charles-Town*, after a most tedious march by land of about 300 miles.

*Colonel Moor's second Expedition.*

**I**N the year 1703, Colonel *Moor*, at the head of the *Carolinians*, made another inroad into *Florida*, marching into the province of *Apalachia*, whereof Don *Juan Mexia* was then governor; whom he attacked, and, after an obstinate engagement, entirely defeated, having therein killed, and taken prisoners, above eight hundred of the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*. Among the prisoners was Don *Juan Mexia* himself.

THE consequence of this action was the reduction of the whole province, which then submitted to the *English*. Governor *Moor* took along with him 1400 of *Indians*, natives of this country, and, transporting them to *Georgia*, fixed them there, in a settlement at the *Savannah* town, under the *English*.

IN the year 1706, the *English* inhabitants of *Carolina* went against the *Atimaco-Indians*, and destroyed all the settlements in their country.

*Captain HENRY JENNING's Expedition to the Märtýra.*

**I**N the year 1716, the *West-India* traders fitted out, at *Jamaica*, two ships and four sloops, with a design of making reprisals on  
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the *Spaniards*, for the many losses they had suffered from the different robberies and plunders committed by their *garde de côtes*, who, under specious pretences, not only detained, but even confiscated divers of their vessels. The command of this little fleet was committed to Captain *Henry Jennings*, who shaped his course for the *Martyres*, where the *Spaniards* were at that time at work, in order to recover some part of the treasure out of the wreck, where the galleons, or plate-fleet, were cast away, about two years before that on their return to *Europe*. As soon as he arrived here, and cast anchor, he, with all possible expedition, landed his forces, to the number of three hundred men, and attacked the guard, who immediately fled, leaving in his possession the treasure recovered by the divers, amounting to 350,000 pieces of eight, which was sent on shore, and kept under the care of two commissaries, with a guard of sixty soldiers. This booty he forthwith ordered on board his vessels, and returned with it to *Jamaica*.

IN the year 1716, *Cherokee Leechbee*, the chief of the *Palachucola Indians*, removed, with his whole tribe, from their former habitation to the River *Flint*, where they built themselves a fort, and fixed a settlement.

IN the same year also the *Vebeesee Creek Indians*, joined by the *Cowetas*, *Savannas*, *Hogoleeges*, *Oconee*, and several remnants of other small tribes, removed from their former settlements, and fixed themselves on the river *Chataboubee*. They are in all about 1000 men, being the most warlike *Indians* in those parts.

#### M. DE CHATEAUGUE'S Expedition into Florida.

IN the year 1719, about the latter end of *May*, Monsieur *De Serigny*, the governor of *Louisiana*, sent Monsieur *De Chateaugue*, with 800 *Indians*, to invest the fort of *Pensacola*, while he, at the same time, sailed for the same place, with a fleet of three ships,  
*viz.*

*viz.* the *Philip* and *Toulouse*, each of 24 guns, having on board in all about 400 men. When this fleet came before the fort, the *Spaniards* only fired two or three shot at them on their approach; and, after beating the chamade, delivered up the fort, being granted the liberty to march out with their baggage and arms; the latter of which they were afterwards to deliver up, and they were also to be sent to the *Havannah* in *French* bottoms. Accordingly, in the beginning of *June*, the *Toulouse* and the *Marischal de Villars*, who were then to sail for *France*, had orders to land the garrison at the *Havannah*; but, when they appeared off there, they were attacked and taken by a *Spanish* fleet of small craft (destined to go against *Carolina*), and, being carried in there, were immediately fitted out and joined to the said fleet, whose destination was now altered, and instructions given them to proceed to *Pensacola*, and repossess themselves thereof. They arrived there in the beginning of *August*, being in all about 1800 men, 600 of whom were regulars. The *French* deserted two ships they had in the harbour, and the seamen that were on board them retired into the fort. The garrison, being summoned, refusing to deliver up the place, made a shew of resistance; yet, without firing one gun, they offered to capitulate. But the *Spaniards* insisted on their surrendering themselves prisoners of war at discretion, which they did accordingly, being about 280 in number. However, they were not long in the possession of the place: For

MONSIEUR *De Champmeslin*, about the beginning of *September*, appeared off the island with a fleet of six sail of ships, *viz.* the *Hercules* of 64 guns, the *Mars* of 60, the *Triton* of 54, the *Union*, a company's ship of 36, the *Philip* of 20, and a brigantine. The *Spanish* garrison having, before their arrival, had advice of there being at the *Isle Dauphin*, constructed with all expedition a stockaded fort, on the point of the island *St. Rosa*, and put every thing in the best order they could for their defence.

THIS fort the *French* attacked, and entirely battered down, the most part of those who defended it being killed. The *Spanish* vessels, being eleven in number, opposed the entrance of the *French*

fleet, and behaved gallantly, not striking till their ammunition was all expended. The action lasted for two hours and an half, when the garrison of the great fort, which consisted of 600 men, perceived that their vessels had struck, they sent an officer on board the commodore, with an offer to capitulate: For they did not chuse to fall into the hands of the *Indians*, who had invested the place under the command of M. *De Bienville*, for they greatly dreaded them. They were refused any other terms than surrendering prisoners of war, at discretion, which they did on the 17th of *September* 1719. Thus was this fort attacked and taken three times, in the space of less than four months.

THE *French* demo'ished, and entirely razed, both the great fort at *Penfacola*, as also that on *St. Rosa*.

#### General OGLETHORP's Expedition into Florida.

IN the year 1740, General *Oglethorp*, governor of *Georgia*, having concerted, and determined on the attack of Fort *St. Augustine*, sailed from *Charles-Town* with the transports, under the convoy of four men of war, and arrived at the mouth of the River *St. John*, which was the rendezvous appointed. Here he was joined by the *Cherokee-Indians*. On the 9th of *May*, he set out from thence with his little army, which consisted only of four hundred foldiers, two hundred seamen, and three hundred *Indians*, and marched to Fort *Diego*, twenty miles higher up, which he took, making the garrison prisoners of war. He then advanced to Fort *Musa*, otherwise called *Negro-Fort*, which he found was deserted by the *Spaniards*. Here he left in garrison a small party to harraßs and alarm the enemy; then he proceeded to the island *St. Anastasia*, where he encamped, and laid siege to Fort *St. Augustine*. The *Spaniards*, on the fifteenth *June*, sent out a detachment from the fort, which, advancing to *Negro-Fort*, attacked the party left there, and entirely defeated them, making several prisoners. In this action

Colonel



Colonel *Palmer*, who commanded the *English*, was killed. Batteries were raised both against the town and fort, but they did little execution, being, on account of the river and morasses, constructed at too great a distance. The fleet also was forced by the badness of the weather to put to sea, and the *Spaniards*, receiving a supply from *Cuba*, which was brought up the river *Matanzas*, and landed safely at the south of the town, as that communication was open to the besieged; for the besiegers were not strong enough to attempt to invest the whole place, the *Spaniards* being in number about 1000 men, and their governor, having timely intelligence of their intended visit, had taken all necessary precautions for their defence; so that Mr. *Oglethorp*, for these considerations, was obliged to raise the siege on the fourth of *July*.

THIS attempt, however, evidently makes appear of what consequence to our trade the possession of this country was thought to be at that time.

F I N I S.



The Publisher having been favoured with the Copy of the following genuine Letter, written by Captain *Robinson*, who resided for some time at *Villa Rica*, a sea-port in the Gulf of *Mexico*, and having permission to make it public, thinks an apology for inserting it here unnecessary, as it contains some observations made by the Writer on the country of *Florida*, which are pertinent to the subject. To which he has annexed a Plan of the Bay of *Mobile*.

TO GEORGE LOOKUP, Esq;

S I R,

PURSUANT to your request, I here transmit you the following observations, made by me on the country of *Florida*, when I visited that coast in the year 1754.

ON my return to *England*, I embarked at *Villa Rica* (situated on the river *Sampeval* on the *Mexican* coast) for *Pensacola*. This small town, or rather straggling village, with a fort, lies within a fine bay of the same name, bearing N. E. by N. 150 miles from the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, in the gulf of *Mexico*. The country all around is wonderfully delightful and fertile, abounding with various herbs, shrubs, evergreens, and meadows, well stocked with cattle. This place was most excellently situated, as a barrier to cover the *Spanish* territories in that quarter, which extended no further than to the *Rio Perdido*, not far to the westward of the famous bay, called by the *French* *Mobile*.

The bay of *Mobile* forms a most noble and spacious harbour, running thirty miles north, and six miles broad, to the several mouths of the *Halabama* and *Chickasaw* rivers. It affords very good anchorage, and is capable of containing the whole *British* navy.

THE *French*, perceiving the importance of this place, and the advantages that must naturally arise therefrom, erected, on the west  
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side of this bay, a strong fort called after the bay. This place is now become to us of the utmost consequence, since all the country to the eastward of the *Mississippi* is ceded to us by the late treaty of peace.

THE advantageous situation of this harbour, in the very heart of the richest part of the country, is as it were a back door to *New-Orleans*, and will ever remain an unmoveable check, by inevitably cutting off all communication between the river *Mississippi* and *Europe*, and the *French* western islands. Yet this depends upon the seasonable measures taken by the government, to put this country and harbour into a better posture of defence, by erecting a fort at its entrance, and sending colonies over.

FROM *Pensacola*, I coasted it eastward for 200 miles, in a brigantine, to *St. Mark d' Apalachy*, scarce ever losing sight of land. We were becalmed so close to the shore, as capable to pitch a biscuit upon it, near forty miles east of *Pensacola*, the firmament being very serene, and, at the same time, not one breath of air. In this state I stood contemplating on the rich and bountiful hand of nature: looking which way I pleased, I was equally attracted with a view of the most ravishing prospects. The shore level, rising gradually into eminencies, clothed with the finest verdure, and spontaneous productions, interspersed promiscuously, as mulberry, cedar, cocoa, vanilla, moho, and cabbage-trees, &c. the last towering their round tops above the rest, as if conscious of its sovereign dignity.

I discovered near to this coast several plats of ground, which appeared to me to be *barakas* of wood (like those I had seen on the *Mexican* coast) surrounded with pleasant little gardens and corn.

ABOUT sixty miles further east, we were again impeded in our voyage by the same cause, close to the pleasant little town of *Santa Joseph*, near the point of *Escondido*. We made no stay here, by reason the wind was up very soon after. The face of the country

country is as before described, unless a few miles round *St. Joseph* it is somewhat more mountainous.

SOON after we arrived at *Saint Mark de Apalaché*, the second town in *Florida*, on the northern extreme of *Apalaché* bay, 14 miles distant on the north-east side of the river *Apalaché*. In sailing along to the above place, the coast was much the same as already mentioned. This town is exceedingly healthful and pleasant, standing on the slope of a hill, and tolerably regular, built of stone, excepting some few *barakas*. Here are two convents, one of *Jesuits* and the other of *Franciscans*; the exterior parts of the town are fortified in the *Spanish* mode, rather as a defence, I suppose, against the natives, than *Europeans*.

FROM the excellent and central position of this fine port, it carries a good trade on, in its own river, &c. and interior parts, as far as the *Apalachean* mountains. It is looked upon to carry on more commerce than all the other settlements in *Florida* put together.

CURIOSITY induced me one day to take a journey of eight or nine miles into the country. I found abundance of extreme fine mulberry trees, larger (and perhaps better fruit) than any I ever saw in *Italy*: the leaves and fruit are well known to be the food of that valuable species silkworms, the climate and all other necessities being adapted for their nourishment: nevertheless, it remained unregarded by the *Spaniards*, though it has produced, ten years ago, silks as good as any in *Europe*. On my return to the town of *St. Mark de Apalaché*, I met with exquisite grapes interspersed up and down, exceeding the *Muscadine* in bulk, and something of their flavour.

IN my humble opinion, here may be made excellent wine: tho' its generally turning sour has been hitherto no small discouragement, yet it might be remedied, by falling upon some simple ingredient, such as the *folium Indicum*, or by alkaline salt, coniac, and sugar, which will restore such wines as have not lost their spirit. Should this our scheme succeed, I can procure a person who has an infal-



lible secret of curing four wines by a simple ingredient, and a judicious management while in fermentation. Before my departure from the aforesaid place, I observed many barrels of rice, large quantities of deer, bear, and buffalo-skins, with some few furs, shipped for *Europe*.

HAVING finished my business at *St. Mark's*, I took my departure for *St. Augustine*, doubling *Cape Florida*; but, before I had gone eighty miles how great was my surprise! The scene entirely changed from the most delightful prospect and fertile soil, to the most barren mountains; not a town, few or no inhabitants, to be seen on that large tract of land from the *Cape* to *Mosquito*, 200 miles long and 150 miles broad.

MOSQUITO stands on a little bay, not remarkable for any thing unless for the small insects from whence it is named; which persecute the inhabitants.

THE last place I made on this coast was *St. Augustine*, the capital, in latitude 29 deg. 48 min. longit. 81 deg. 20. min. It is built on a little bay at the foot of a hill, shaded with trees, and forms an oblong square, divided into four streets (and has two fine streets which cut each other at right angles). The houses are well-built and regular. They have only one church, which is called after the city.

ST. JOHN'S FORT, standing about a mile north of it, is a strong irregular fortification, well mounted with cannon, and capable of making a long defence. I remarked that the soil here is neither rich nor pleasant, unless on the banks of the river *St. John*, distant 27 miles due West, which river comes from the south-part of the peninsula, and, running north, it disembogues itself into the *Atlantic Ocean*, 45 miles N. of *St. Augustine*.

THE principal rivers are the *Chickasaw* and *Halibama*, running South into the bay of *Mobile*. The *Apalachicola* rises near the back settlements of *South Carolina*, and, dividing near the mouth one  
branch

branch, runs into the bay of *St. Joseph*, and the other into the gulf of *Mexico*. The *Apalaché*, rising amongst the *Apalachian* mountains, pursuing a S. W. course, disembogues itself into a bay of the same name. They are well stocked with many kinds of good fish, and on their banks are many pleasant meadows, covered with herds of cattle. The two last are navigable a long way up.

THE bays in the gulf of *Mexico* are *Mobile*, *Pensacola*, *St. Joseph*, *Apalaché*, *Espiritu Santo*, and *Carlos*; and those in the *Atlantic* ocean are *Mosquito* and *St. Auguſtine*.

MOST of *Florida*, unless the *Cape*, is happily situated between the extremes of heat and cold, but the heat is rather more troublesome of the two. It is blessed with as wholesome, pure and serene air, as any part of the world, not much unlike the south of *France* and *Lisbon*; although its situation is naturally warm, the heat is much mitigated by the refreshing breezes from the sea and *Apalachian* mountains.

I HAVE gathered, not only from my own observation, but also from two authentic *Spanish* writers, that all that part of the country, extending from fifty miles east of *Apalaché* (in the gulf of *Mexico*) to 450 miles west, to the banks of the river *Mississippi*, is abundantly superior to any of our settlements. The vegetables here are innumerable; for all that grow in *Europe* are in perfection and many that cannot stand the inclemency of our winters thrive here. It has excellent timber, and shrubs of various kinds, *viz.* oak, pine, cedar, mulberry, apple, orange, peach, cocoa, grape, olive, vanilla, moho, cabbage, lightwood, and mangrove trees, besides many *European* fruits which are introduced. Mulberries, grapes, and olives, grow spontaneously, and if I am not mistaken, was told by the *Spaniards* they have the cotton-tree, being probable enough, as it grows in *Georgia*, in the same climate, not many miles distant.

THEY have the moho-tree, a very useful shrub, in great plenty, answering the use of hemp, many cables and ropes being made of its strong fibres.

I MUST not omit relating some very interesting particulars, not from any observations of my own, but a quotation from some manuscript notes (which I accidentally met with) of Father Gomez de Sepulveda, on the *American* trade.

“ FLORIDA (he says) enjoys a very temperate air and soil, wonderfully fertile in grain, herbs, and fruits.

“ THE *Floridans* are extremely well-proportioned warriors, and go almost naked: though naturally white, they paint themselves of an olive-colour. The commodities are few, but costly, viz. gold, silver, pearls, and furs.”

MOST true, I have seen their pearl-fishery in the bay of *Apalaché*, as also some few furs: I furthermore have been assured, that they have mines of various minerals, in particular one of silver at the foot of a mountain, near the inland town of *Tamezis*, which, indeed, upon the due proof of the author, and its situation, strengthens me in that opinion; for, admitting it be there extremely barren, I was told it was as populous as any part of *Florida*.

WE need not wonder why we are ignorant of these circumstances, as it is the interest of the *Spaniards* to keep this as an inviolable secret, lest such a delicious bait should accelerate their falling a victim to their envious neighbours.

THE animals are the same as in *Old Mexico*, viz. the armadillo, flying squirrel, warree, opossum, pearree, guane, sloch, racoon, beaver, bear, buffalo, and deer. And since the *European* cattle have been introduced, they have surprisingly increased; for I have noticed numerous herds of cows, horses, sheep, and goats, grazing on the rich banks of the *Apalaché*, and bay of *Pensacola*.

SEIGNIOR DIEGO PATRIA DAVALOS observes, what wool they have is not inferior to the *English*; for my own part, what I saw was not equal to our worst.

OF fish on their coasts, and in the bays, they have the paracod, tortoisés of five several kinds, manatee, &c.; in the rivers, the same as in *Carolina*.

OF their feathered kind are the curosoe, the maccow, the quàm, and humming-bird, besides *European* poultry. Their insects are the cochineal-fly, miqua, and altera, &c.

THE natives have no manufactures but what each family makes for its own use: They are declared enemies to labour, spending their time chiefly in hunting and war; yet necessity induces them to plant corn sufficient for their support.

THE natives are extremely healthful, rarely troubled with any diseases, unless the small-pox, and such as arise from excess of drinking. They have sometimes fevers and pleurisies, but no cronical distemper, and are acquainted with the virtue of herbs which cure venomous bites and wounds.

THE *Floridans* are a manly well-shaped race: the men are tall, and the women little, anointing themselves with oil and grease, and thereby becoming a dark brown. They wear a cloth betwixt their thighs, girded about their waist, something like breeches, and the women a kind of short petticoat to their knees.

THEY are a brave, good-natured people, very hospitable to strangers, and not cannibals, as first represented. They are patient in adversity, slow to anger, not easily provoked, quick of apprehension, and have a great flow of spirits. Their public conferences shew them to be men of genius and strong natural parts.

You have herein the substance of my poor remarks, which I heartily wish may be happy enough to enlighten the obscure knowledge

ledge of this charming country, to the advantage of individuals, especially adventurers, as we are not indebted to any of our countrymen for any satisfactory account thereof. I cannot advance any other reason for it than a political view of the *Spaniards* to secrete their riches, like the *French*, of which we have recent proofs, viz. *Canada*, &c. and discouraging accounts of our people, who generally touching at the *Cape*, find it there extremely barren. I am,

Honourable Sir,

JUNE 22,  
1763.

Your humble servant,

THOS. ROBINSON.























